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The Great Mystery of Godliness

INCONTROVERTIBLE;

OR,

SIR ISAAC NEWTON

AND

THE SOCINIANS

FOILED IN THE ATTEMPT TO PROVE A CORRUPTION IN
THE TEXT, 1 TIM. III. 16,

Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί.

CONTAINING

A REVIEW OF THE CHARGES BROUGHT AGAINST THE PASSAGE ;

AN EXAMINATION OF THE VARIOUS READINGS ;

AND A CONFIRMATION OF THAT IN THE RECEIVED TEXT ON PRINCIPLES
OF GENERAL AND BIBLICAL CRITICISM.

BY

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P R E F A C E.

MOST of what is contained in the following pages was composed without any view to publication. The Author was led, in preparing a course of Theological Lectures, to investigate the different passages of Scripture to which an appeal is usually made on the subject of our Lord's Divinity, and to decide on the legitimacy and amount of the proof furnished by each, according to approved principles of biblical criticism and exegesis. While prosecuting this inquiry, he came, in order, to the important text, 1 Tim. iii. 16, and entered at some length into an examination of the authorities for and against its various readings: the result of which was, a decided conviction that the reading of the *Textus Receptus* is fully borne out by the testimonies to which it is proper to refer on questions of this nature.

With the presentation of such evidence as he had been able to collect to the view of those com-

mitted to his tuition, he was disposed to remain satisfied ; and nothing would have induced him to commit what he had written to the press, but the attempt which has recently been made by the Socinians to derive advantage to their cause from the name of Sir Isaac Newton, of whose " Historical Account of Two Notable Corruptions of Scripture," they have published a new edition. Convinced, as the Author had been by the perusal of a former edition of this work, of the total failure of that illustrious individual in his endeavour to substantiate the charge which he brought against the passage in question ; and perceiving the renewed effort that was made to give all the eclat that the celebrity of his name would impart to opinions which there is every reason to believe he would have held in utter abhorrence, and which have justly been designated " the most delusive and dangerous of all that ever assumed the Christian name ;" he deemed it a duty which he owed to the primitive faith, to the Inspired Record of that faith, and to the public, to place the subject in its just and proper light, and furnish such information respecting the controversy as might conduct those who are induced to study it, to a rational and satisfactory result. If he has ex-

pressed himself with some degree of confidence, in reference to the result of his own investigations, he hopes it will not be imputed to a spirit of dogmatism or self-sufficiency. Conclusions which have been arrived at, in reference to this text, and defended by such men as Mill, Bengel, Venema, Wesseling, Berriman, Baumgarten, Ernesti, Titmann, Knapp, Greve, Woide, Royard, Voorst, Wardlaw, Laurence, Nolan, Burton, Moses Stuart, and others whose names might be mentioned, the Author of the present publication need not be afraid to avow.

With the personal or private character of the *Socinians*, the writer has nothing to do. Nor does he employ the name as a term of reproach. He finds it used by Sir Isaac Newton, and even by Mr. Belsham, in different parts of his writings, where he speaks of “the *old* Socinians; and cannot rid himself of the idea that it is, after all, the most convenient term to be employed. To that of “Unitarian,” the body can advance no exclusive claim; and “Anti-Trinitarian” only expresses their hostility to one particular doctrine, whereas there is scarcely any thing that is *peculiar* and *essential* to Christianity, which they do not reject.

In representing the *modern* Socinians as attempting to prove a corruption in our text, the Author does not wish to convey the idea, that any of them has entered into a fresh investigation of the question. He has in vain looked for any thing of the kind. The note of Mr. Belsham, in his work on the Epistles, contains little more than a repetition of the stale remarks of Dr. Clarke; and, indeed, the time seems to have gone by in which it was deemed advisable to support or defend their sentiments by an open and candid application of verbal criticism. In the present instance, their effort consists simply in the publication and circulation of Newton's tract; in doing which they tacitly acknowledge their persuasion of the justness of his conclusions, and their own inability to throw further light on the subject.

May every reader have his mind duly alive to the infinite importance of religious truth, open to the reception of its evidence, and ready to obey it in all its practical dictates !

*Canonbury Square,
July, 1830.*

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ERRATUM.

P. 7. l. 21. Instead of "a copy having been taken by Locke," read "a copy sent to Locke."

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS—SIR ISAAC NEWTON NO SOCINIAN—DESIGN OF THE NEW EDITION OF HIS TRACT—IMPORTANCE AND GENERAL BEARING OF THE PASSAGE, 1 TIM. III. 16—HOW SIR ISAAC CAME TO WRITE UPON IT—HISTORY OF HIS REMARKS—HIS MODE OF CONDUCTING THE INVESTIGATION—THE CHARGE OF FALSIFICATION BROUGHT AGAINST MACEDONIUS—STRICTURES ON THE STORY OF LIBERATUS AND HINCMARUS, AND THE PASSAGES ADDUCED FROM NESTORIUS, CASSIAN, AND CYRIL—SIR ISAAC'S SEVERAL HYPOTHESES RELATIVE TO AN INTERPOLATION REFUTED—THE TWO PARTS OF HIS WORK INCONSISTENT WITH EACH OTHER.

IN giving prominence to the name of Sir Isaac Newton, and associating it with that of "Socinian," nothing is further from the intention of the author than to produce an impression, that our celebrated philosopher held the views which are professed by those generally known under this appellation. From all that has yet been developed of his sentiments, it is impossible to draw any conclusion that would warrant such an opinion. That he was no Socinian, in the modern acceptation of the term, is beyond all dispute; for he distinctly avows his belief in *the miraculous birth* of our Lord, which is a doctrine repudiated by the enemies of his

divinity :* and he asserts, in the most unqualified terms, that he was *the object of primitive worship*.† Nor does he hesitate to affirm, that “ the words *Χριστος* and *Θεος* are more plainly equipollent than *Χριστος* and *μυστηριον* :” ‡—a declaration he never could have made had he believed him to be possessed of nothing more than simple humanity. He animadverts, indeed, with great freedom, and sometimes with considerable asperity, on the orthodox ; but it does not appear, that this arose from any hostility to their views respecting the doctrine of the Trinity, or that it was opposed to any thing besides the unfair mode in which he conceived they had treated one or two passages of Scripture, with a view to the support of that doctrine.

The association adverted to is solely to be ascribed to the circumstance of the terms in which the work is announced, one of the divisions of

* — “ being the Son of God as well by his resurrection from the dead (Acts xiii. 33.) as by his SUPERNATURAL BIRTH OF the VIRGIN.” *Hist. Account*, p. 59.

† Explaining the fifth chapter of the Apocalypse, he says : “ The beasts and elders, therefore, represent the primitive *Christians* of all nations ; and the worship of these *Christians* in their churches is here represented under the form of worshipping God and the Lamb in the temple : God for his benefaction in creating all things, and the Lamb for his benefaction in redeeming us with his blood : God as sitting upon the throne and living for ever, and the Lamb as exalted above all by the merits of his death.” And, after quoting verses 11—14, he subjoins : “ This was the worship of the primitive *Christians*.”

‡ *Hist. Account*, p. 74.

which it is the object of these pages to refute. These terms, as boldly labelled on the windows of the Socinian Depository, in St. Paul's Church-yard, are:—"SIR ISAAC NEWTON on Trinitarian Corruptions of Scripture;" on which it may be proper to remark, that they are obviously designed to answer a twofold purpose. First, they are intended to imbue the public mind with the belief, that Trinitarians, in order to support their system, scruple not to falsify the records of divine truth; and, that this falsification is not confined to a few solitary instances, but has been practised to some considerable extent. Had there been no such design, why not candidly state the whole head and front of their offending, as alleged in Sir Isaac's impeachment? Why, instead of announcing "two corruptions," or, if deemed preferable, "two *notable* corruptions of Scripture," is it given indefinitely, as if scores, or even hundreds of passages had suffered from the fraudulent hand of Trinitarian corruption? Secondly, the celebrated name of Sir Isaac Newton is put forth to support with its high sanction the cause of Antitrinitarianism; and superficial thinkers, or such as may not possess the means of determining what were the real sentiments of "the first of philosophers," will naturally suppose, that he espoused that cause, and that a system of opinions which commanded the approval of so mighty a mind cannot but be true. For some excellent remarks on the proneness of the party to shelter themselves under the authority of great names, and especially those of Newton

and Locke, the reader is referred to Appendix, No. I. which contains an extract from an admirable series of letters on Unitarianism, by the Rev. Dr. Miller, Professor of Church History, at the College of Princeton, North America.

The passage, to the examination of which the following pages are devoted, has ever been regarded as one of the most interesting and beautiful to be met with in the New Testament. While the truths which it predicates are confessedly of the highest importance, and justly entitle it to a prominent place in the minds of all who receive the Christian revelation, the language in which they are announced is so measured and terse, that the place has been considered by some as exhibiting a stanza of one of the primitive hymns. Divided into lines, according to the several propositions of which it consists, it appears thus :

Θεὸς

ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί,
 ἐδικαιώθη ἐν πνεύματι
 ὤφθη ἀγγέλοις,
 ἐκηρύχθη ἐν ἔθνεσιν,
 ἐπιστεύθη ἐν κόσμῳ,
 ἀνελήφθη ἐν δόξῃ.

God was

Manifested in the flesh,
 Justified in the spirit,
 Seen by the angels,
 Proclaimed among the heathen,
 Believed on in the world,
 Received up into glory.

Considering the circumstances, that Timothy was resident at Ephesus at the time the epistle was addressed to him; that this city was celebrated for the number of its pillars and inscriptions; and that the apostle had just represented the Christian Church as the column and basis of the truth, nothing can be more natural than the supposition, that he continues the figure in the 16th verse, and represents the sum and substance of the gospel as an inscription engraven on that pillar for the purpose of luminous exhibition to the world. Not only was it common in ancient times to transmit histories and laws in this way to posterity, but the principles of science and precepts of primary utility in the government of human life were thus inscribed on columns, that they might be read by those who passed by, and be preserved for the benefit of future ages.

Precisely such a purpose has the apostolic inscription served for the long period of seventeen centuries. It has held forth to the view of all, the grand fundamental principles of the christian belief:—the humiliation, triumph, and exaltation of the Messiah, and the early and speedy extension of his kingdom in the world. Like other monuments of antiquity, however, it has not altogether escaped the mutilating hand of time, and the initial word has not a little exercised the ingenuity and skill of such as have addicted themselves to the study of sacred criticism. While the great body of critics and general readers have followed the reading of the *Textus Receptus*, according to which

the pre-existence and divinity of the Son of God are distinctly taught, there have been, and still are, those who have called in question the genuineness of that reading, and either follow the Latin Vulgate, which refers all the predicates to the antecedent word *sacramentum*, or "mystery," or render the passage, "He who was manifested in the flesh was justified," &c. This last is the interpretation usually adopted by the Socinians, and is the rendering of their "Improved Version," principally edited by the late Mr. Belsham.

The fact that a discrepancy of reading exists in some of the documents in which the passage is contained, has long been acknowledged. One of the first who called the attention of the public to it was Erasmus, who, though compelled by a just principle of criticism to insert Θεός in his editions of the Greek N. T., and frame his Latin translation accordingly, nevertheless gives us clearly to understand in his notes, that he regarded it as suspected, and as foisted into the text in opposition to the Arians. On the same side followed Crellius, Grotius, Clarke, and others, whose hostility to this reading was distinctly avowed without any thing like an effectual attempt to make good their point. Dr. Clarke, in his *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*, after adverting to the controversy, adds, "But it is in reality of no great importance; for the sense is evident that That Person was manifest in the flesh, whom St. John, in the beginning of his gospel, styles Θεός."

When we take into consideration the intimacy which subsisted between the last-mentioned writer and Sir Isaac Newton, it will be easy to account for the circumstance that this, among other points of theological research, attracted the notice, and occupied the attention of our great philosopher. Having, as he imagined, discovered the real source of the interpolation, 1 John v. 7, and pursued his inquiries to some considerable length, and finding that the views which he had adopted were borne out by very strong evidence, derived from Greek MSS., the ancient versions, Fathers, &c., he proceeded to institute a similar investigation of the passage now under consideration: the result of which was a conviction that it also had been tampered with, and that the true reading is that preserved in the Latin Vulgate. His remarks on both passages compose one continued discourse; but, though drawn up in the epistolary form, they do not appear to have been addressed to any particular person. A copy having been taken by Locke, was forwarded by him to M. Le Clerc, by whom it was deposited in the library of the Remonstrants in Amsterdam, where it is still preserved. From this copy an edition was published in London, 1754, 12mo, under the title of "Two Letters from Sir Isaac Newton to M. Le Clerc, upon the Reading of the Greek Text 1 John v. 7, and 1 Tim. iii. 16." That they were not addressed to Le Clerc is obvious from his own statement contained in his epistle prefixed to Kuster's edition of Mill's Greek Testament, in which he positively avows that he

was ignorant of the author.* In the title-page, the tract is stated to have been taken from authentic "MSS.;" but in the advertisement it is acknowledged that there was only one, which, it appears, was not only defective at the beginning and end, but otherwise erroneous in many places. An entire MS. having been found in the author's handwriting, in the possession of the Rev. Dr. Ekens, Dean of Carlisle, it was inserted, with a few accompanying notes, by Bishop Horsley, in the fifth volume of Sir Isaac Newton's works, published by that prelate in 1785. From this edition the reprint, just issued by the Socinians, is taken.

If Sir Isaac had set the question completely at rest, or produced such critical reasons for the rejection of the common reading, and the adoption of what he conceives to be the true one, as had satisfied the majority of competent judges, some apology might be offered for the republication of an accurate copy of his tract, to which comparatively few have access; but as the passage has been the subject of much critical investigation since his time, and the progress of such investigation has more or less evinced the untenableness of his positions, it required a great want of candour, and no ordinary degree of confidence in the gullibility of the public, to put forth such an edition

* "Est penes me elegans Dissertatio Anglica, quæ a quo scripta nescio, sed est a Joanne Lockio, viro clarissimo, olim ad me transmissa, in qua defenditur lectio vulgatæ *quod*." Why Le Clerc was kept in ignorance, the reader will learn on consulting Appendix, No. II.

without a single line accompanying the text, to illustrate the history of the controversy. In Appendix, No. III. the reader will find a list of the principal writers who have gone into a discussion of the subject, from which it will be apparent that it is too late in the day to bring forward the authority of Sir Isaac Newton, as ultimate and decisive in questions of this nature. Whoever has perused the very elaborate and, as far as it goes, most satisfactory work of Berriman, or the more modern remarks of Nolan and Hales, as well as other works there described, cannot fail to be convinced that the matter in dispute must be settled in a different manner than by mere hypothetical surmises, appeals to discordant testimonies, or bold, unfounded charges of dishonesty and falsation.

In contemplation of the extreme accuracy of those habits of investigation which Sir Isaac Newton must necessarily have cultivated when engaged in mathematical studies, and the unwearied patience which he must have exercised in his successful endeavours to account for some of the more perplexing phenomena of the universe, the mind is filled with surprise at the discovery of the very unphilosophical mode of procedure displayed in his treatment of the subject before us. So marked indeed is the difference between this effort and those which he put forth in his scientific discoveries, that we are almost tempted to give a reluctant acquiescence to the assertion of Chevalier Ramsay, that he was *bon géométricien, mais nullement métaphysicien*. Instead of collecting acknow-

ledged and well-authenticated facts, and laying them as the basis of his reasoning, according to the approved principles of the inductive philosophy, he first of all brings a sweeping charge of corruption against the Greek text; and when pressed by the testimony of the earlier Fathers, he proceeds in like manner to charge their text with corruption. He then produces a witness whose testimony he is obliged to help out with hypothesis and conjecture, and calls in another between whose testimony and that of the preceding there is a manifest discrepancy; after which he endeavours to get rid of a counter-testimony by the unauthorized assertion that it is ironical, abusive, and fabricated with a view to deceive.

The stronghold in which he takes his position, is the account of the banishment of Macedonius, Bishop of Constantinople, at the beginning of the sixth century, as given in the Breviary of Liberatus, Archdeacon of Carthage, in the former half of the same century. In the nineteenth chapter, Liberatus writes as follows: *Hoc tempore Macedonius Constantinopolitanus Episcopus ab Imperatore Anastasio dicitur expulsus, tanquam Evangelia falsaret, et maxime illud Apostoli dictum, quia apparuit in carne, justificatum in spiritu. Hunc enim mutasse, ubi habet qui hoc est monosyllabum Græcum, lîtera mutata in vertisse et fecisse . . . id est, ut esset Deus, apparuit per carnem. Tanquam Nestorianus ergo culpatus expellitur per Severum Monachum.*

On this statement we offer the following remarks:

1. That Liberatus did not write from his own personal knowledge, but merely collected his materials from Greek records and traditionary reports.

2. It does not appear that the account of this alleged corruption was founded on any thing beyond bare report :—Macedonius *dicitur* expulsus tanquam falsaret Evangelia, et maxime, &c.—“Macedonius *is said* to have been banished as a falsary of the gospels, and especially of that passage of the Apostle,” &c.

3. The state in which the text of Liberatus has come down to us, renders it next to impossible to exactly ascertain what sense it was intended to convey. The first editions of his Breviary were printed without the Greek, either because it was not inserted into the MS., or because the printers wanted type in which to express it. In the edition published by Surius, in his Collection of the Councils, 1567, and the subsequent editions, the lacunæ are supplied thus : *ubi habet ós, hoc est, qui monosyllabum Græcum litera mutata o in ω vertisse et fecisse ως, id est ut esset Deus apparuit per carnem.* According to this, the change is not from ós to Θεός, but from ós to ως, and consequently no suspicion whatever is thereby thrown on the common reading. All that the alteration will amount to is, the qualification of Θεός, as was frequently done in the Nestorian controversy, by placing before it the adverb ως, thus brought out of óς, which, according to Liberatus, must also have been in the text.

Another edition, however, of the story is thus given by Hincmarus, Archbishop of Rheims, in his

Opusculum, lv. cap. xvii. "Quidam ipsas Scripturas verbis illicitis imposturaverunt; sicut Macedonius Constantinopolitanus episcopus, qui ab Anastasio Imperatore, ideo a civitate expulsus legitur, quoniam falsavit evangelia; et illum Apostoli locum, *quod apparuit in carne, justificatum est in spiritu*: per cognationem Græcarum literarum O et Θ hoc modo mutando falsavit. Ubi enim habuit *qui*, hoc est OC, monosyllabum Græcum, litera mutata O in Θ, mutavit, et fecit ΘC, id est, ut esset, Deus apparuit per carnem; quapropter tanquam Nestorianus fuit expulsus." Here it is roundly and positively asserted, that the change was from OC to ΘC, the abbreviated form of ΘEOC, which statement, if it rested on better authority, might deserve attention; but Hincmarus flourished upwards of three hundred years after the time at which the corruption is said to have been effected, and does not appear to have had access to any other source of information than Liberatus, out of whose Breviary, indeed, Sir Isaac Newton acknowledges the relation to have been taken.

4. The assertion, that, on account of the interpolation thus introduced, Macedonius was banished *as a Nestorian*, throws discredit on the whole narrative. If he had changed ΘC into OC, there might have been some slight ground for branding him with the design of favouring that heresy; but, if he really found OC in the text, and altered it to ΘC, he could not have more directly opposed the tenet of the Nestorians, that it was not *God* but *Christ* who became incarnate, suffered, died, rose, and

ascended into heaven. This inference is so obvious, that, in order to evade its force, Sir Isaac is obliged to put an unnatural construction on the words, and affirm, that the enemies of Macedonius "*accounted* it Nestorianism, though it was not really so."* Sensible of the insecurity of his ground, he proceeds to write, that "whilst he is said to be banished as a Nestorian for this, without explaining what is here meant by a Nestorian, it looks like a trickish way of speaking, used by his friends to ridicule the proceedings against him as inconsistent; perhaps to invert the crime of falsation; as if a Nestorian would rather change ΘC into O."† To such shifts is our author reduced by the pressing difficulty which he found thrown in his way by the simple language of the history on which his hypothesis is built!

5. Supposing it to be a fact that Macedonius actually did change OC into ΘC in some copy that came into his hands, it by no means follows that he "was the man that first began to alter the sacred text."‡ He might only make the alteration in order to render the copy conformable to the reading of the Greek Vulgate, which exhibited Θ€δς; in which case he did no more than others, in like circumstances, have done in correcting or amending the text according to acknowledged critical principles. If Macedonius is to be reprobated as a corruptor of Scripture, because he endeavoured to maintain the purity of the divine text, in what light

* Page 85.

† Ibid.

‡ Page 80.

are we to regard Griesbach, Knapp, and others in our own day, who scruple not to introduce numerous alterations, and that not merely into a few, but into thousands of copies?

6. That Θεός was in the text long before the time of Macedonius, is certain from the citations and reasonings of many of the ancient Greek Fathers, whose testimonies will be adduced in the sequel. It is maintained, indeed, by our author, that "all the churches for the first four or five hundred years read, "Great is the mystery of godliness, which was manifested in the flesh," and the same thing has been repeatedly advanced since his day; but Dr. Burton has shown, that *no Latin Father* of the three first centuries quotes the text *at all*; and that *in no single instance* do the comments of the ancient Greek Fathers lead to the conclusion that they read *θεός* or *θς*, and not Θεός.*

When Sir Isaac affirms, p. 65, that the early "writers, as often as they have any occasion to cite the reading then in use, discover that it was *θς*," it must be noticed, that those whom he proceeds to mention were *Latin Fathers*; and all that can legitimately be deduced from their testimony is, that the text of their Latin version read *quod*. Not one of them quotes the Greek, and tells us that it reads *θς*, or ever reasons from it on the ground of that being the reading. Nor

* "Testimonies of the Ante-Nicene Fathers to the Divinity of Christ," p. 144, a work replete with information on the subject.

should this excite the least surprise. The Greek language was only very partially known in the Western Church. About the end of the fourth century, Anastasius, Bishop of Rome, did not know that such a man as Origen had ever lived; and, about thirty years later, when Cœlestinus, bishop of the same see, received a Greek epistle from the Patriarch of Constantinople, he was obliged to apply to Cassian for a translation of it. Under such circumstances, it would be unreasonable to expect quotations from the original text.

Nor is any weight to be attached to the passages adduced, paragraphs iv.—vii. from Nestorius and Cassian: it being a fact, that, in the original of the Homily of Nestorius, published with the works of Marius Mercator in 1673, the reading is not ὁ ἐφανερώθη, but simply ἐφανερώθη, without either noun or pronoun immediately connected with it. The words are: Τὸ γὰρ ἐν τῇ Μαρίας, φησὶ, γεννηθὲν ἐκ πνεύματος ἐστὶν ἁγίου, κατὰ δικαιοσύνην τὸ πλασθὲν ἀνέπλασεν. Ἐφανερώθη γὰρ, φησὶν, ἐν σαρκί, ἐδικαιώθη ἐν πνεύματι. It is true, the antecedent here is neuter, but this is solely owing to its being such in Matthew i. 20, whence the quotation is made. Sir Isaac was, therefore, completely mistaken, when he supposed that because Arnobius Junior, who cites Nestorius, has "*hoc quod* manifestatum," in his Latin, Nestorius must have used the words ὁ ἐφανερώθη. In the work of Cyril against Nestorius, printed at Rome, 1607, the passage is also quoted exactly as it is here exhibited. Lib. iv. cap. iii.

The passage from Cassian's work, *de Incarnatione Domini*, is equally insufficient to prove that he read θ in his Greek copy: for his work was not written in Greek, as Sir Isaac conjectures, but, as ecclesiastical historians allow, and the style clearly shows, in *Latin*. Had Cassian quoted the original, or, in the most distant manner hinted, that he had the original before him when making the quotation, there might have been some ground for the inference attempted to be drawn from the passage; but it is servilely made from the Latin Vulgate, and can only prove what was the reading of that version. The whole 5th chapter, however, of the Fifth Book of Cassian proves, that, though he made use of this reading, he was not unacquainted with that of $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$. After quoting it according to the Vulgate, he asks: "Quod ergo magnum illud est sacramentum, quod manifestatum est in carne? DEUS scilicet natus è carne, DEUS visus in corpore. Qui utique sicut palàm est *manifestatus in carne*, ita palàm est *assumptus in gloria*."*

Considerable stress is laid on the manner in which the text is referred to by Cyril; but, as it will be presently shown, $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ is repeatedly used by that Father; and the dispute between him and Nestorius not being whether Christ was God, for this Nestorius never denied, but merely referring to the nature and mode of the incarnation, it cannot be matter of surprise, that, in explaining

* Simler's Edition, Tiguri, 1571. fol. p. 33. b.

his views, Cyril should sometimes advert to the passage without quoting it literally, and occasionally throw in the gloss : *τουτέστι Χριστὸν*, just as Chrysostom uses, *τουτέστιν ὁ Δημιουργός*. Having done this, he was obliged to employ the pronoun *ὅς*, and read *ὅς ἐφανερώθη*, though he never meant to say, that this was actually the reading of the original.

Before proceeding to a critical investigation of the various readings of this important text, in the course of which every thing adduced by Sir Isaac in reference to the MSS. and versions, will meet with due attention, it may be proper to make one or two observations on the XXIVth paragraph of his work, in which he sums up his remarks.

“The difference,” he says, “between the Greek and the ancient versions puts it past dispute, that either the Greeks have corrupted their manuscripts, or the Latins, Syrians, and Ethiopians, their versions.” If by *corruption* it be meant, that one or other of the three different readings cannot be the true one, nothing is more certain : but the language is stronger than the circumstances of the case will justify. The discrepancy in question may, like many others, both in the original and the versions, have been the mere effect of inadvertence. It was therefore altogether unwarrantable to use the word in the sense of wilful falsification, which Sir Isaac does throughout his book, without so much as a single palliation suggested by the spirit of charity.

That “it is more reasonable to lay the fault

upon the Greeks than upon the other three," he determines by the following considerations :

1. "It was easier for one nation to do it than for three to conspire." Here it is assumed that the whole Greek nation did at least receive the interpolation by joint and unanimous concert. Can any thing be less probable? Whatever might be the influence of the ruling or orthodox party, is it to be supposed that there were none whose hostility to the views of that party would keep them ever on the alert, and who would be forward to detect and expose any such corruption introduced to support the catholic faith?

2. "It was easier to change a letter or two in the Greek, than six words in the Latin." This is undoubtedly true; but it is not to the point. On the supposition that the alteration took place in the Latin, it did not consist in the change of six words, but only of six terminations; and if it be admitted that the Latin translator mistook one or two Greek letters, or the rendering of the Syriac version in reference to Θεός, and adopted the neuter pronoun *quod* instead of it, this will account for the whole extent of the discrepancy, as all the terminations would be neuter of course.

3. "In the Greek the sense is obscure; in the versions, clear." For this very reason, if any authority is due to the canon of Griesbach, we ought to adhere to the Greek, and reject the rendering of the versions. "*Difficilior et obscurior lectio anteponenda est ei, in qua omnia tam plana sunt et extricata, ut librarius quisque facile intelligere ea*

potuerit.”* This canon, which has approved itself to the best critics, is founded on the obvious principle, that no transcriber would designedly change a clear reading into one that was obscure.

4. “It was agreeable to the interests of the Greeks to make the change, but against the interest of the other nations to do it; and men are never false to their interest.” What *national* interest could there possibly be in one of the readings more than in the others? Were the Greeks alone orthodox, and the Latins, Syrians, Ethiopians, &c. heterodox? Would it not have been as much for the interest of the Latin church to change *quod* into *Deus*, as for that of the Greeks to change *ὁ* into *Θεός*? Yet they were not, and have never been guilty of such temerity, how much soever such an alteration might have gone to support the orthodox doctrine; just as, on the other hand, the Greeks, how agreeable soever it might have been to their interest, never ventured to insert the testimony of the heavenly witnesses into their copies of the Greek text.

5. “The Greek reading was unknown in the times of the Arian controversy; but that of the versions then in use amongst both Greeks and Latins.” The former position is a mere assertion without any proof. It may have been known, and yet not used by the orthodox, just as there are other passages, both of the Old and New Testament, exhibiting no variety of reading, which are

* Prolegomena, p. lix.

now considered clearly to teach the doctrine of our Lord's divinity, but to which they have not made any allusion. Strictly speaking, however, the passage did not belong to the controversy, inasmuch as the dispute was not, whether Christ was called Θεός in the Scriptures, but whether he was ὁμοούσιος τῷ πατρὶ? The former the Arians admitted; the latter they denied.

With respect to the reading of the versions, it must have been known to those by whom these versions were read; but this circumstance does not in the least affect the question, so far as the Greeks are concerned. They had nothing to do with the versions; and it cannot be proved that ever they received and argued from ζς or δ, which the reading of the versions has been supposed to support.

6. "Some Greek manuscripts render the Greek reading dubious; but those of the versions hitherto collated agree. There are no signs of corruption in the versions hitherto discovered; but in the Greek we have showed you particularly when, on what occasion, and by whom the text was corrupted." It has not yet been admitted among the canons of criticism, that one or two various readings are sufficient to render suspected or dubious any word or passage of an ancient author. They ought to excite attention, and lead to investigation; their evidence should be weighed, and all the circumstances of the particular text impartially considered; but it is very possible that the received reading may remain unshaken, not-

withstanding the combination and agreement of all the witnesses that may thus be brought to appear against it. Nor can any thing be more uncritical than to affirm, that, because all the manuscripts of some of the versions bear them out in supporting some common reading, which may have the sanction of one or two Greek manuscripts, it is therefore necessarily and incontrovertibly true. What diversity of reading, for instance, is there in the MSS. of the Syriac, Arabic, Vulgate, and Armenian versions, all of which support $\pi\omicron\upsilon$, which is found also in the Uncial manuscripts A, B, C, F, G, and in several of the Cursive, Gal. iv. 15? Yet biblical critics do not feel themselves warranted to reject the received reading $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma$, and supply its place with $\pi\omicron\upsilon$.

To the specific charge of corruption it is not necessary to recur, after what has already been adduced on that subject.

In concluding this chapter, we^s cannot refrain from observing how singularly inconsistent the two parts of Sir Isaac Newton's treatise are with each other. In reference to 1 John v. 7, Greek evidence occupies the most prominent place: in regard to 1 Tim. iii. 16, it almost goes for nothing. In the former case the whole range of manuscript authority is canvassed, and principally because the passage is "against the authority of all the Greek manuscripts," it is rejected: in the latter, all that is said is, that "there are some ancient Greek manuscripts which read \acute{o} , and others $\acute{o}\varsigma$," without any reference to the number or character

of such as read $\Theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$. In the former, the old Latin version is run down, as having been "so generally corrected that it is nowhere to be found sincere:" in the latter, "Jerome's manuscripts gave him no occasion to correct the old vulgar Latin in this place." The Slavonic and Arabic concur in the omission of the heavenly witnesses, and are therefore particularly specified; but though they both support the reading $\Theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$, little notice is taken of them under that head. In short, most of the arguments which are employed to prove a corruption in the one passage, will, if applied to the other, go far towards maintaining its integrity.

CHAPTER II.

NATURE OF THE EVIDENCE BY WHICH THE QUESTION IS TO BE DECIDED—
THE PRINCIPAL READINGS—1. *o'*, WHICH—MS. AUTHORITY—CODEX
CLAROM.—ITALA, VULGATE, PESHITO SYRIAC, ETHIOPIC, ARMENIAN,
COPTIC, SAHIDIC AND ERPEN. ARABIC VERSIONS—FATHERS—PRINTED
EDITIONS.—2. *ſs*, WHO—MSS.—COD. EPHREMI—F.—G.—17 AND 73—
UNSUPPORTED BY THE ANCIENT VERSIONS AND FATHERS—FOUND ONLY
IN TWO PRINTED EDITIONS.

THE subject under investigation, like others of a similar nature, must be decided on grounds purely critical. Appropriate evidence respecting the various readings ought to be the object of diligent and impartial research; and having obtained this evidence, the only course that remains to be pursued is, to weigh its different bearings, and acquiesce in the reading which is best supported, irrespective of the place it may hitherto have occupied, either in, or extraneous to the printed text, and without regard to the extent to which it may affect or modify the peculiar opinions we have been accustomed to entertain. The arguments by which the goodness of a reading is to be determined are either *external* or *internal*. The

former embrace whatever can be collected from our stock of critical materials under the head of *Manuscripts*, *Versions*, and *Fathers*: the latter, certain circumstances connected with the passage in which the reading is found, such as the genius and scope of the writer, the subject and strain of his discourse, and the grammatical forms in which it is expressed. The one class is purely historical; the other, grammatical and exegetical.

Disregarding the opinions of Semler and Bentley, the former of whom proposed to omit the text altogether, and the latter, in equal violation of one of the fundamental principles of sacred criticism, to change Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη into Χριστὸς ἐθανατώθη, we shall confine our investigation to the three actual varieties of reading to which importance is attached in the controversy. These varieties may be thus exhibited:

ΘEOC	}	ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί.
‘OC		
‘O		
GOD	}	<i>was manifested in the flesh.</i>
WHO		
WHICH		

We have here assigned the first place to Θεός, because it is the reading of the Textus Receptus, and of every critical edition of the Greek N. T., that of Griesbach, and one or two of minor note excepted; the second to ὁς, because it has been received into the text by that critic; and the last to ὃ, as that which possesses fewest claims

to our attention. For the sake of convenience, however, it will be proper, in conducting our inquiry, to reverse this order, and begin with the last of these readings.

a. 'O, WHICH.

I. MANUSCRIPT AUTHORITY. The only MS. that has been adduced in support of this reading is the *Codex Claromontanus*, formerly in the possession of Beza, but now preserved in the library of the King of France, where it bears the number 107 :—formerly it was noted 2245. It is marked D in the critical editions, but is carefully to be distinguished from the *Codex Bezae*, or *Cantabrigiensis*, which is also marked D, but only contains the Gospels and Acts. Its age cannot be exactly ascertained, but it is supposed to have been written, not earlier than the *sixth*, and not later than the *eighth* century. At present this Codex certainly reads $\overline{\Theta C}$, the abbreviated form of $\overline{\Theta EOC}$. This Wetstein acknowledges, but maintains that it reads 'O *a prima manu*, and wonders that Beza should not have observed it. Woide, however, an able judge of such matters, who afterwards most carefully examined the MS., declares that it is not the whole, but only part of $\overline{\Theta C}$ that is from a later hand. Most of the circle in the theta, and the stroke of abbreviation above the word, have been freshened with black ink; but the horizontal stroke within the theta has not been re-written, but remains, with the rest of the letter, pale and unaltered. There is, therefore, palæographical

ground for concluding that the original reading of this MS. was $\overline{\Theta C}$ and not O. To evade the force of Woide's remarks, Griesbach is obliged to have recourse to a most complicated system of correction, according to which not fewer than *five* different hands have touched and improved upon the MS. ; yet he cannot but admit that his corrector C, to whom he attributes the alteration in this place, and whom he will not allow lived earlier than the tenth century, most certainly read not δ but $\Theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$ in the MS. according to which he made the correction.* What strengthens the conclusion that such was the genuine reading of the Codex D, is the circumstance that Beza collated it for his celebrated edition of the Greek N. T., and in his note on the passage he expressly states: "Vetus interpres pro $\Theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$ legit δ , ut qui converterit, *quod manifestatum est in carne*, quod et ipsum tamen ad Christum commodissime aptari potest. — Verum repugnant PERPETUO concensu OMNES Græci codices." Such an assertion he never could have made, if the text before him had exhibited δ , or if he had found that reading in any of the MSS. to which, either directly or indirectly, he had access.

In the opinion expressed by Woide, both Michaelis and Matthæi concur. The former, after giving the communication of that writer, declares, "Under these circumstances it is impossible, for me at least, to doubt that $\Theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$, 1 Tim. iii. 16,

* Symbolæ Criticæ, Vol. II. p. 76.

which is of such great importance in divinity, and which Wetstein has disputed, is the true and genuine reading. Mr. Woide has appended to his letter, which I have seen, a fac-simile of $\overline{\Theta C}$ in the Codex Claromontanus, which I cannot present to my readers without a copper-plate, but which excites my great astonishment, that Wetstein could write σ *a prima manu*, since the ancient faded sigma is exhibited to the eye.”*

Granting, however, that this Codex did originally read σ , may it not be justly questioned, whether its character as a *Græco-latinus* should not make us hesitate in receiving any peculiar readings which it may have in common with the Latin version? Though Wetstein may have gone too far in asserting: “*frequentissime textum græcum ad latinum, seu italiam, versionem corrupit,*” &c. as Semler has clearly proved,† still there are many instances of agreement in readings characteristically occidental, of which this may be one. That it was written in the West of Europe is evident, not only from the circumstance that the Greek letters betray a Latin Librarian, but also from the position of the Epistle to the Hebrews, which is placed after the other books, agreeably to the custom of the Roman church, by which that Epistle was, for a considerable time, rejected. The opinion of Professor Schmidt, of Giesen, deserves attention: “1 Tim. iii. 16, σ $\epsilon\phi\alpha\nu\epsilon\rho\acute{\omega}\theta\eta$ is entirely occidental.

* Orient. und Exeget. Biblioth. Theil vii. p. 141.

† Hermeneutische Vorbereitung, Stück-iv. pp. 8—61.

The passage is not found at all in the more early writers of the Western church; but it frequently occurs after the third century, and all the Latin Fathers, as well as all the manuscripts of the Latin version, have this reading, which is still preserved in the Vulgate. It cannot, therefore, be doubted that it was peculiar to the old Latin version, and is indebted to it for its authority; for it must ever remain uncertain whether it originated in Greek MSS. at all, or whether the author of this version had merely some copy before him in which the last letter of the word OC was faded.”*

II. VERSIONS. Of these, the *Itala*, *Vulgate*, *Peshito Syriac*, *Ethiopic*, *Armenian*, *Coptic*, *Sahidic*, and the *Arabic* of *Erpenius*, have been adduced in support of this reading. Let us examine them in order.

[1] In the *Itala* and *Vulgate* the passage is rendered: “Et manifestè magnum est pietatis sacramentum, quod manifestatum est in carne, justificatum,” &c. At what time the old Latin version, supposed to be that which Augustin calls *Itala*, was made, cannot be determined; but it is generally thought it was in some part of the second century. While there were many Latin translations in use, this was preferred as uniting with perspicuity of meaning, a more close adherence to the words of the original. Whether the revision undertaken by Jerome, the fruits of which we

* Kritische Geschichte, II Abtheil. p. 107.

have in part in the *Modern Vulgate*, was confined to the Gospels, or extended to the whole New Testament, has been disputed; but till it can be satisfactorily proved that 1 Tim. iii. 16, was included in his revision, it would be unfair to conclude that the Greek MSS. which he used, read σ and not $\sigma\varsigma$ or $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$. And even supposing it to be a fact, that the passage was subject to his revision, is there not reason to believe, that though he found $\sigma\varsigma$ or $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ in his Greek MSS., yet he did not venture to change the Latin reading, it being one of the principles on which he proceeded, not to adopt what was too much at variance with the Latin text? On the limitations under which he laboured, Leander Van Ess makes the following remark in his *Pragmatico-critical History of the Vulgate*—a work of singular utility in the study of this ancient version. “His liberty, and the knowledge which he possessed of the principles of criticism, were so restrained by the chains put upon him by the spirit of the age in which he lived, that he was only able to revise and correct the New Testament, how ready soever he would have been to perform the task in a better, more critical, more faithful, and more perfect manner, for which he was sufficiently qualified, and possessed all the necessary critical materials.” p. 103.

As bearing still more directly on the subject in

* “Codicum Græcorum emendata collatione, sed et veterum, necquæ multum a lectionis latinæ consuetudine discrepant.” Epistola ad Damas.

hand, the queries and observations of the celebrated Porson are deserving of serious attention. "Does the Vulgate always closely follow the Greek, particularly in scrupulously guarding against interpolations?—But, allowing that this verse* had been extant in the Vulgate even from the end of the second century, and without any of these suspicious appearances, is the merit of this version so high as to ratify and render genuine every word and sentence in which its MSS. conspire? Was it in no place corrupted in the days of Tertullian and Cyprian? If we are certain of any reading having constantly kept its place in the Latin copies, we are certain that they never read otherwise than *quod* in 1 Tim. iii. 16, instead of *deus*. You, Sir, will probably defend the latter reading; nor shall I dispute it. But if we take the liberty of rejecting the authority of the Vulgate, when it is so consistent with itself, and so well supported as it is upon 1 Tim. iii. 16, why may we not with equal right reject it, when it is the principal, if not the sole support of a contested verse? Was the addition of the clause in 1 Pet. iii. 22,† made by the first framers of the version from the warrant of Greek MSS.? Yet that has the consent of the present Latin copies. Whoever undertakes the defence of such passages, may pretend that his aim is to establish the genuine text, but in fact he is

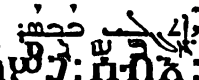
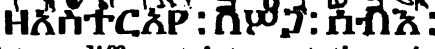
* 1 John v. 7; but Porson's reasoning equally applies to the reading *quod*, 1 Tim. iii. 16.

† — *deglutians mortem, ut vitæ æternæ hæredes efficeremur.*

exerting all his force to weaken and undermine its authority.*

Thus I should argue, if all the MSS. consented in the received reading. I should think it an hazardous step to prefer any version to the unanimous consent of all the Greek MSS. now known to exist. Still less should I venture to rely upon such a version, which by having been more frequently copied, has also been more frequently interpolated than any other. The subsidiary streams which the river has received in its course, have neither made the water more clear, nor more wholesome."†

How easily the Latin reading *quod* might have found its way into the Itala or Vulgate by a mistaken construction of the Syriac, will be shewn under the following number.

[2.] The old or Peshito Syriac  and the Ethiopic  are susceptible of two different interpretations, in consequence of the prefixes ; *Dolath*, and *H Ze*, being used in these languages both for the relative pronoun, and as a conjunction. The Syriac may accordingly be rendered, "*That* He was manifested in the flesh;" and that it was so understood by the translator of Erpenius's Arabic is certain from the mode of construction which he employs. The

* Bengel says of the Latin version: "a genuina lectione Græca sæpe discrepat Latina lectio."—Introd. ad Crisin N. T. Observ. viii.

† Letters to Travis, pp. 137, 143, 144.

circumstance that the Syriac translator should take the liberty of substituting the conjunctive ; *Dolath* for the substantive ܐܠܗܐ *Aloho*, (Θεός) ought not to excite the least surprise, since we find he has taken precisely the same liberty, 2 Cor. vi. 16, where, instead of the Greek, καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ Θεός, ὅτι ἐνοικήσω ἐν αὐτοῖς, "As GOD hath said, I will dwell in them," &c., he has the words, ܐܠܗܐ ܐܡܪ ܕܝܬܝ ܕܝܬܝ ܕܝܬܝ "according as He hath said, that I will dwell in them," &c. As in this case the Divine name had just occurred in the preceding context, in the phrase ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ "the temple of *God*;" so, in regard to the passage in Timothy, it had occurred in a similar combination in the verse immediately preceding; ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ "the church of the living *God*." Keeping this word prominently in view, he might not deem it necessary to repeat it, but considered it to be sufficiently understood as the nominative to the verb, though the parenthesis, expressive of the pillar and ground of the truth, and the great mystery of godliness, intervened between them. Matt. xxii. 32, and Gal. i. 15, furnish additional instances of the omission of Θεός in this ancient version.

In the Ethiopic, the greatest liberty is taken with the Divine names; sometimes they are interchanged one for another, and sometimes omitted altogether. See Bode's *Pseudocritica Millio-Bengeliana*.

With respect to the reading of the Syriac, it

may only further be observed, that the ܕ *Dolath* appears to have been the original rendering. In addition to those collated for the printed editions, I have recently had an opportunity, through the favour of the Rev. Mr. Forshall, A.M., keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum, of consulting some ancient Nestorian MSS., one of which is of the sixth century, but none of them exhibits ܕ *Aloho*.

On the supposition that the Latin translator had the use of the Syriac when executing his version, (and this may perhaps be the best hypothesis on which to account for the relationship so frequently observable between these two most ancient versions,) nothing could be more easy than to mistake the ܕ *Dolath*, which is less frequently employed as a conjunction, for the relative pronoun, for which it is commonly used; and, connecting it with the word *sacramentum*, which he had just written, to render it *quod* in the neuter.

[3.] The *Coptic* and *Sahidic* are equivocal in their testimony. They certainly employ the relative; but though it is of the same gender with the word by which *μυστήριον* is rendered, yet that word being masculine, the relative may be referred to Θεός in the preceding context, as well as to it.

[4.] The *Armenian* may express *ժ*, but it equally expresses *ժս*: the relative *որ* being used for all the three genders. Dr. Laurence maintains,* that this version reads neither *ժս* nor *ժ*, but Θεός; and refers for proof to the Editio Princeps of Usan,

* Remarks on Griesbach's Classif. of MSS. p. 80.

printed at Amsterdam in 1666, and a duodecimo edition, printed at the same place in 1698. Us-can's edition I have not seen; but on consulting a copy of the edition of 1698, in my possession, I find indeed the word ԱՅ, but it does not occur as the separate or distinct name of God, but only as part of the compound ԱՅ-ԳԵՂՈՒԹՅՈՒՆ signifying "piety." It is the same as if I were to write *godliness* as a contracted form of "godliness" in English. The critical edition of the Armenian Scriptures, printed at Venice, 1805, exhibits the same reading.

[5.] The *Arabic* of Erpenius is *وحقا ان سر هذا العدل عظيم ذاك انه تجلي بالجسد* "And truly this secret of righteousness is great, namely, *that He was revealed* in the body," &c. That the pronominal affix *ا* agrees in gender with *سر*, the word employed to express *μυστήριον*, is granted; but the construction clearly proves that it does not refer to that word, but to *Θεός* understood. For, if the translator had intended to say that the *mystery* was manifested, he would not have used the conjunction *ان*, signifying "that," but the relative pronoun *الذي*, *which*, just as the translator of the Propaganda version has done. *وحقيقا سر تقوي عظيم ذاك الذي ظهر بالجسد* "And certainly the mystery of piety is great, which appeared in the body, &c.:" which translation is a servile imitation of the Vulgate. Nearly the same form is found in the Arabic paraphrase of a Syro-Arabic MS. described by Adler: "The exceeding *سر سيدنا العظيم جدا الذي ظهر بالجسد*

great mystery of our Lord, which appeared in the body," &c.

From this examination it appears, that none of the ancient versions are clearly and decidedly in favour of δ , except the Latin, which, as we have seen, may after all have originated, not in any diversity of reading in Greek MSS., but in the construction which the translator put upon the rendering of the old Syriac version. As to the versions of Luther and Zurich, mentioned by Wetstein, they are not to be taken into the account; both as they are modern, and because they were made principally with the help of the Latin Vulgate. It was, however, only in his first editions that Luther followed *quod*: in that of 1546, in which he continued to omit 1 John v. 7, he admitted $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}s$, and thereby gave it as his decided testimony, that this is the true reading.

III. FATHERS. As might be expected from the extensive authority and influence of the Latin version, all the *Latin* Fathers have *quod*: only Jerome, on Isa. liii. 11, and Theodore of Mopsuest, in his work on the Incarnation, have "QUI manifestatus est; and Epiphanius the Deacon has: "DEUS manifestatus est in carne." "O does not clearly occur in any of the *Greek* Fathers, except in a passage in Chrysostom's works; but the homily on The Incarnation, in which it is found,* was not written by that Father, but by

* Edit. Benedict. Tom. VIII. p. 214.

some anonymous hand, as the Benedictine editors have satisfactorily shewn.

IV. PRINTED EDITIONS. The only editions of the Greek text in which σ has been adopted, are Harwood's and Boissonade's. The former was printed in London, 1776, but as its text was principally constructed according to the Cambridge and Clermont MSS., its authority in the present instance, is resolved simply into that supposed to be furnished by the latter of these documents. The edition of Boissonade, which appeared in Paris, 1824, seems to have been greatly accommodated to the Latin Vulgate.

It is but justice to Wetstein to add, that he received this reading into the space beneath his text, and thereby intimated that, in his opinion, it was genuine.

CHAPTER III.

β. OC. WHO.

THE READING .OC NOT THAT OF THE ALEX. AND EPHREME MSS.—THE OPINIONS OF WETSTEIN, VELTHUSEN, WOIDE, AND LESS, ON THE LATTER MS.—INCONSISTENCY OF GRIESBACH — ὁς NOT SUPPORTED BY THE COD. F.—BUT FOUND IN G. 17 & 73.—NO ANCIENT VERSION DECIDEDLY FAVOURS IT—NOR IS IT BORNE OUT BY THE FATHERS—PRINTED ONLY IN TWO EDITIONS.

I. MANUSCRIPTS. In justification of his admitting this reading into the text, Griesbach produces as authorities the manuscripts, A, C, F, G, 17, and 73; on which we offer the following remarks.

[1.] Whatever A, or the celebrated Alexandrian Codex, may have read at first hand, it is now so completely worn at this passage by repeated examination, that it is no longer possible, by any further inspection, to determine to which side its authority leans. The only question, therefore, is, What evidence have we, of an earlier date, to prove the original reading? That there is such evidence, and that this evidence satisfactorily ascertains the reading to have been Θεός and not ὁς, will be shown in the following chapter, when we come to discuss the claims of the former of these two lections.

It is, however, of importance to state, that though Griesbach contends in his note, that $\theta\varsigma$ is the genuine reading of this Codex, there is a passage in his *Symbolæ*, in which he admits that the Alexandrian MS. is to be regarded as neutral.*

[2.] The Codex C, or *Ephreni* (Regius, 1905), according to Griesbach, reads 'OC; but, according to Woide and Velthusen, the reading is \overline{OC} , with a horizontal line above the letters, marking an abbreviation. It is true the O wants the internal transverse stroke, by which Theta is usually distinguished from Omicron; but the same occurs in other parts of this MS.; and even in the very next word, ΕΦΑΝΕΡΩΟΗ, Woide was not able, with the assistance of a magnifying glass, to discover the smallest trace of such a stroke.† If the supernal line had, as some critics have supposed, been added by a later hand, for the purpose of converting $\theta\varsigma$ into $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, ('OC into \overline{OC}) it is perfectly unaccountable how the internal stroke came to be omitted; since, how easily soever it might be left

* "Certe opponi nobis nullomodo potest hic codex, sed, nisi a nostris partibus stare judicetur, saltem *neutarum* partium esse censendus est." *Symbolæ Criticæ*, Vol. I. p. xxix.

† Such instances of the entire absence of the transverse line are not uncommon in the Uncial MSS. Among others in the *Codex Sangermanensis*, Less found the words ΕΙΣΕΛΑΟΗ, Rom. xi. 23, and ΕΠΙΟΥΜΗΤΑ, 1 Cor. x. 6, without the least trace of a stroke; and he concludes, that it must either have entirely faded, or been omitted at first through the forgetfulness of the transcriber. Similar instances are furnished by Woide, and others who have described these MSS.

out by a mere copyist, it never could escape a person who should alter the word with the express design of making it read Θεός.

Wetstein speaks doubtfully and indeterminately in reference to the reading of this MS., though he gives it as his opinion that it was originally $\theta\varsigma$. " $\theta\varsigma$," he says, "habet Codex C, ut PUTO; nam lineola illa tenuis, quæ ex O facit Θ non apparet, altera autem lineola, quæ alias literis ΘC, quibus Θεός per compendium scribi consuevit, æquali distantia, imminet, crassiori atque imperitiori ductu ita exarata est ΘC, ut aliam manum prodere VIDEATUR." On this Woide remarks: "What Wetstein says relative to the stroke of abbreviation above ΘC, I do not understand. He observes, 'altera autem lineola,' &c. He should rather have said, The stroke of abbreviation above OC is perfectly free and untouched, and is still so plain and evident, that every one must discover, with the naked eye, that it must always have been there. I can no more perceive any *crassiorem et rudiorum ductum* than in many other strokes connected with the letters of the MS. of which some appear more clear than others, having been less effaced. I have accurately examined this passage, both with the naked eye and with the help of glasses, and cannot possibly assent to what Wetstein says respecting the supposed inelegance of the stroke."*

* Orient. und Exeget. Biblioth. VII. Theil. p. 139. Less, after examining the word, declares:—"I have taken every possible pains to see what Wetstein saw, but could discover nothing of it."—*Matthæi N. T.* Vol. VII. p. 91.

It is worthy of notice that, besides the supernal line, there is an indication below the word, which determines it to be intended for $\Theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$. This consists of two marks, supposed to be musical notes, according to which the word to which they are attached must have been a dissyllable and not a monosyllable. Griesbach, indeed, contends that they are from the hand of a corrector; but he has no other proof to allege than the absence of such marks from Greek MSS. written previous to the ninth or tenth century. Here they certainly are found in a MS. greatly anterior in date; and till such time as it can be satisfactorily shown, when and by whom they were first introduced, his reasoning is aside from the point.

Strenuously as Griesbach endeavours to support $\delta\varsigma$ as the original reading of his MS., he is, when pressed, obliged to reduce it to a probability. In fact, he is palpably inconsistent with himself in his different statements on the subject. In his *Symbolæ Criticæ*, Vol. I. p. xxix. he writes: "*Propter varia indicia in codice ipso obvia PROBABILIVS ei tribui $\delta\varsigma$ quam $\Theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$.*" But at p. xxv. he confidently asserts, "*Non PROBABLE tantum sed CERTUM omnino esse statuo, librarium nostrum scripsisse $\delta\varsigma$.*"

[3.] F is an Uncial MS. of the ninth or tenth century, and is preserved in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. Like that just referred to, it exhibits the usual abbreviated form \overline{OC} , only the tranverse stroke in the Θ has been entirely obliterated, if ever it existed. If the line above

the word be genuine, *i. e.* a prima manu, it never could have been intended for $\delta\varsigma$. On this subject, Matthæi, an approved judge, makes the following positive declaration. “ Quid sibi vult ista linea in relativo $\delta\varsigma$. Hoc enim omnes sciunt, relativum $\delta\varsigma$ in nullo codice scribi \overline{OC} . ! Solum $\Theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$, propter omissas literas habet istam lineam $\overline{\Theta C}$. Similiter scribitur \overline{IC} , \overline{XC} et alia.”*

The Latin version, accompanying the Greek text, and which is written in Anglo-Saxon cursive characters, reads *quod*.

[4.] G, the Boernerian Codex, preserved in the Royal Library at Dresden, and of which an edition was published by Matthæi, reads \overline{OC} ; and the Latin text, which is written above the Greek, *quod*. Some have supposed this MS. to be a transcript of the former; but, how great soever the affinity between them may be, they each exhibit certain peculiarities, which show that this is not the case.† It is of the ninth or tenth century.

[5.] The Cursive MSS. 17, and 73, are from the eleventh or twelfth century, and both decidedly read $\delta\varsigma$.

From this statement, it will be seen, that Griesbach is borne out by only *three* positive testimonies, none of which is entitled to higher

* N. T. Vol. VII. p. 91.

† Hug's Introduction, Vol. I. p. 287. A fac-simile of the text, 1 Tim. iii. 16, in this Codex, is given by Matthæi, N. T. Vol. I. at the end of the Preface.

consideration than those in which a different reading is exhibited. Even on the ground of his favourite family relationship, the authority is dubious.*

II. VERSIONS. Not one of the ancient versions can be regarded as decisive in favour of this reading. With the exception of the Latin, the Philoxenian Syriac, the Arabic of Erpenius, and that of the Polyglott, the Slavonic and the Georgian, they *may*, but *do not necessarily* express it. Those just specified are pointedly *against* it.

III. FATHERS. The reading *QUI* occurs, as we have already seen, once or twice in the Latin Fathers; but never in any Greek Father does *ὃς* occur as a *direct and positive quotation* of the identical word in the Apostolic text. In the instances adduced by Griesbach, it must be at once perceived, that *λόγος* or *Χριστός* is the nominative expressly mentioned, and that it was not the design of the Fathers *formally* and *literally* to quote, but only to refer to the passage by way of explanation, or to confirm, by one or other of its predicates, the matter in hand. See on this subject, Matthæi N. T. Vol. VIII. pp. xli—liii. where the alleged passages in Cyril, &c. are luminously and satisfactorily treated.

* See Dr. Laurence, pp. 74—77, and Eclectic Review, N. S. Vol. IV. pp. 183, 184.

IV. PRINTED EDITIONS. Besides the edition of Griesbach, I have found $\text{\textcircled{c}}$ only in that accompanied with a Latin version and notes by Schott, and which is in fact only a recognition of Griesbach's text.

CHAPTER IV.

γ. ΘΕΟC, GOD.

OF THE CODD. B. E. AND H. — CATALOGUE OF 171 MSS. WHICH READ ΘΕὸς—NEW EDIT. OF SCHOLZ—MSS. IN BRITISH MUSEUM—READING OF THE ALEXANDRIAN CODEX—GRIESBACH'S ADMISSION—AGE OF THE MSS.—PHILOXENIAN SYRIAC, ARABIC, SLAVONIC, AND GEORGIAN VERSIONS SUPPORT THE READING ΘΕὸς—THE SAME BORNE OUT BY TESTIMONIES FROM THE FATHERS—NOTICES OF THE CRITICAL EDITIONS IN WHICH IT IS FOUND—RECAPITULATION OF THE EXTERNAL EVIDENCE.

WITH the exception of three manuscripts, (G. 17. 73), the reading $\overline{\Theta C}$ or $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ is, or has been, that of all known copies of the Pauline Epistles in which the passage is found.

To the very ancient Codex Vaticanus no appeal can be made, as it does not contain this epistle. It is the same with the uncial manuscript E, formerly belonging to the Abbey of St. Germain, in Paris, but now in the depôt of MSS. attached to the public Imperial Library at St. Petersburg, where I had an opportunity of examining it in 1823. In this Codex, the Greek text of 1 Tim. is wanting from the beginning to chap. vi. 15, which is the more to be regretted, as it might have thrown some light on the Codex Claromontanus, of which it is little more than a transcript.

The Latin text, adopted from the Vulgate, is supplied in the epistle, and in the passage under consideration, reads *quod*.* The entire passage is also wanting in the important Codex H. written in the sixth or seventh century.

The following is a catalogue of the MSS. in which Θεός, either in its full or abbreviated form, has been found: containing a specification of the countries in which they exist, the libraries in which they are deposited, and their probable age. The dates of some, and the places where others at present exist, it has been impossible to ascertain.

I. IN ENGLAND.

	Century.
1. A, or the Codex Alexandrianus; British Museum.	IV. or V.
2. F, Trinity College, Cambridge	IX. or X.
3. Barocc. 3. Bodl. Lib.	XII. XIII.
4. Harlei. 5537 Brit. Mus.	XI.
5. ——— 5588 ———	XIII.
6. ——— 5618 ———	XV.
7. ——— 5620 ———	XV.
8. ——— 5778 ———	
9. Erasm. 5552 ———	
10. Hunt. Bodl. 131 ———	XI.
11. Leicest.	XIV.

* If this be the Codex to which Father Simon refers in his note on this passage, he has placed the matter in a false light when he affirms, that in the *Greek* and Latin we read as in the Vulgate. This mistake was pointed out by Wetstein, but he takes no notice of another inaccuracy in the note, that the same reading (*δ, quod*) is found in a MS. in England. Such a MS. has otherwise never been heard of.

	Century.
12. Laud. 2. Bodl.	XIII.
13. Lincoln 2. Linc. Col. Oxford	<i>very old.</i>
14. Magdal. 1. Mag. Col.	XI.
15. Monfort. Trin. Col. Dub.	XV.
16. New Col. Oxford.	XIII.
17. Canonici. Bodl. xi. 142	XI.
18. Roe 2. Bodl. Roe 16.	XI. or XII.
19. Vespas. B. xviii. Cotton Lib.	XI.
20. Westmon. 935. now Brit. Mus. I. B. I. .	XIV.
21. Wake 1. Christ Church, Oxford	XI.
22. — 2. —————	IX. or X.
23. — 3. —————	XII.
24. — 4. —————	XI.
25. — 5. —————	XI.
26. Pub. Lib. Cambr. 495.	XII.
27. Christ Col. — 2.	XI. or XII.
28. Emm. Col. — 3.	XII.
29. } Pub. L. — 496. double MS.	XI. and XIV.
30. }	
31. Clagett. Marlbor	XI.
32. Meade 3 (Askew) Brit Mus. 5117. . .	IX.
33. Faber or Wolff.	XV.
34. Steph. cy. Pub. Lib. Cam. K. k. 6, 4. .	
35. }	
36. }	
37. }	
38. }	
	Archiepiscopal Lib. Lambeth. . . XI and XII.

II. IN FRANCE.

1. C, or the Cod. Ephreimi, Regius 1905.	VI. or VII.
2. D, Claromont. 107.	VII. or VIII.
3. Regius 1885.	XI.
4. 1886.	XI.
5. 2242.	
6. 2245, 2.	X. or XI.
7. 2246.	XI.
8. 2247.	XII.

		Century.
9.	Regius	2248. XIII.
10.	. . . . .	2248,2.
11.	. . . . .	2864. XIII.
12.	. . . . .	2869. X.
13.	. . . . .	2870. XI.
14.	. . . . .	2871. XIII.
15.	. . . . .	3425. XI.
16.	. . . . .	3427.
17.	Colbert.	871. XIV.
18.	. . . . .	3002. IX.
19.	. . . . .	3790.
20.	. . . . .	4785. XIII.
21.	. . . . .	5259. XI.
22.	. . . . .	6123. XIV.
23.	. . . . .	6584.
24.	Coisl.	18. XI.
25.	. . . . .	26. X.
26.	. . . . .	27. X.
27.	. . . . .	28. XI.
28.	. . . . .	30. XI.
29.	. . . . .	95. XIII.
30.	. . . . .	196. XII.
31.	. . . . .	199. XI.
32.	. . . . .	200. XIII.
33.	. . . . .	202,2. XI.
34.	. . . . .	204. XI.
35.	. . . . .	205. XI.
36.	. . . . .	217. XIII.
37.	. . . . .	224. X.

III. IN ITALY.

1.	Cod. Vatican.	360. XIII.
2.	. . . . .	363. XI.
3.	. . . . .	366. XIV.
4.	. . . . .	367. XI.
5.	. . . . .	761.

		Century.
6.	Cod. Vatican	765.
7.	. . . . .	766.
8.	. . . . .	1136. XI.
9.	. . . . .	1160. XIII.
10.	. . . . .	1208. XIII.
11.	. . . . .	1210. XI.
12.	. . . . .	1430. XI.
13.	. . . . .	1650.* XI.
14.	. . . . .	1761. XI.
15.	Palat.	38. IX.
16.	. . . . .	171. XI.
17.	Urbini	3. X. or XI.
18.	. . . . .	50.
19.	Reg. Alex.	179 now 29. X.
20.	Barberin.	19. XIV.
21.	. . . . .	229.
22.	St. Basil	22.
23.	. . . . .	41.
24.	. . . . .	101.
25.	. . . . .	119.
26.	. . . . .	152.
27.	. . . . .	163.
28.	St. August.	2.
29.	Regius, Naples	XI.
30.	Laurent. Floren.	IV. 1. X.
31.	. . . . .	5. XIII.
32.	. . . . .	20. XI.
33.	. . . . .	29. X.
34.	. . . . .	31. XI.
35.	. . . . .	32. XI.
36.	. . . . .	X. 4.
37.	. . . . .	6.
38.	. . . . .	7.
39.	. . . . .	19.

* This Cod. has the singular reading *ᾠφθη ἀνθρώποις*, which is also found in Steph. δ. and Clem. in Œcum. See *Wagstaff's Collation in Sion College Library*.

	Century.
40. St. Mary	4.
41. St. Mark	701.
42.	705.
43.	707.
44. Bonon.	640.
45. St. Mark, Venice	5. XV.
46.	6. XV.
47.	10. XV.
48.	11. XIII.
49.	33. XI.
50.	34. XI.
51.	35. XI.
52.	

IV. IN AUSTRIA.

1. Lambec. Vien.	28. X.
2.	1. XII. or XIII.
3.	34. XI. or XII.
4.	35.
5.	36.
6.	37.
7. Forloss.	15.
8.	19.
9. Kolar.	10.

V. IN OTHER PARTS OF GERMANY.

1. Pub. Lib. Hamb. Uffenbach 2.	
2. Nuremberg. Ebner.	XIV.
3. Augsburg. August.	
4. Guelpher c.	XI. or XIII.

VI. SWITZERLAND.

1. Basil. Reuchlin. B. vi. 27.	X.
2. — ix.	IX.
3. — x. 20.	XIV. or XV.

Century.

4. Basil, B. vi. 17.
5. Genev. 1. XIII.
6. Zurich.

VII. HOLLAND.

1. Petav. 1 Leyd. 77 XII. or XIII.
2. ——— 2.
3. Collated by Dr. Walker.
4. ———— Brussels.

VIII. DENMARK.

1. Havn. XIII.

IX. RUSSIA.

1. Matthæi. A α 3. XI.
2. ——— B X.
3. ——— C XV.
4. ——— D XI.
5. ——— E XII.
6. ——— F XIII.
7. ——— G IX.
8. ——— K XI.
9. ——— L XII.
10. ——— M XI.
11. ——— N.
12. ——— 9.
13. ——— α.
14. ——— ψ.

X. UNKNOWN WHERE AT PRESENT PRESERVED.

1. Stephani. α
2. Thuan
3. Seidel
4. Amandi

	Century.
5. Cassan	12*. XI.
6. ———	20*. XII.

Thus there are in England	38
In France	37
In Italy	52
In Austria	9
In Germany.	4
In Switzerland	6
In Holland.	4
In Denmark	1
In Russia	14
In places at present unknown.	6

making a total of 171 MSS. of the Pauline Epistles which exhibit Θεός, and which, except *three* others that read ὁς, are all of which the collation has yet been published. It would have given me peculiar pleasure to lay before my readers the result of Professor Scholz's researches in reference to this important text, as it cannot be doubted that, of the *six hundred* MSS. unknown to Griesbach, which he has consulted,† a very considerable number contain the passage. However, I feel confident, from the progress already made in the collation of Greek manuscripts, that when the second volume of the Professor's Greek Testament shall appear, no small augmentation

* These two MSS. were collated by Mr. Berriman in the library of Mr. Cassano, chaplain to the Russian ambassador. MS. note by Mr. B. in a copy of his Dissertation in Sion College Library, p. 165.

† Horne's Introduction, Sixth Edit. Vol. II. p. 114.

will be made to the above catalogue. Some of those in the British Museum not having been entirely collated for Griesbach's edition, I have carefully examined the following: Askew. 5117; Harlei. 5537, 5588, 5613, 5620, 5778; Bib. Reg. I. B. I. In No. 5778, which is a beautifully written Codex, the reading Θεός has but just escaped the flames, which have consumed part of the word *μυστήριον* immediately preceding. All of them exhibit the word in its abbreviated form, but so distinctly as to be liable to no suspicion.

With respect to the *Alexandrian Codex*, it has been proved, as far as the nature of the case will allow, that ΘC was its original reading. This proof is furnished by the unimpeachable testimony of Junius, Huish, Mill, Wotton, Croyk, Berriman, Ridley, Gibson, Hewitt, and Pilkington, who carefully and minutely inspected the passage before it became illegible, and found the genuine transverse line in the *Theta*. To these names may be added those of Walton, Fell, Bentley, and Grabe, all of whom had access to the MS. at an earlier period, and who concur in its exhibiting ΘC and not OC. The report of Owen and Nichols, as given in Bowyer's Conjectures, is of too recent date to be of any weight. When Dr. Mill first collated it, he was inclined to believe OC the true reading; but after examining it more closely, he discovered evident traces of the ancient horizontal line within the letter. The evidence thus elicited was attempted to be set aside by Wetstein, who, on first examining the MS. was able to discover

no stroke, and conjectured that what Mill had taken for it was merely the line of an Épsilon in the word EYCEBEIAN on the opposite side of the leaf which made its appearance through the velum; but on inspecting the Θ more minutely afterwards, he found that the fine stroke which was originally in the body of the letter, was discoverable at each end of the fuller stroke with which some corrector had retouched it. That the straight line of the Epsilon falls in with the exact position of the central stroke in $\overline{\Theta C}$ has been disproved by Woide, the learned Editor of the Codex, who determined the line to be not precisely at the back, but somewhat below the *Theta*. Such as are desirous of further information on the subject, may consult Berriman's Dissertation on 1 Tim. iii. 16. pp. 153—159. Hales on the Trinity, Vol. II. pp. 70 — 73. Nolan on the Greek Vulgate, p. 285. Eclect. Rev. N. S. Vol. III. pp. 180, 181.

After making the exceptions to which we have already referred, Griesbach himself fully admits that all the other manuscripts of which we have any knowledge read $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$. “Cæteri, quos novimus OMNES—exhibent $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$.” His objection, that most of them are modern, is of little moment. The greater number are of a date equal to those which read $\epsilon\varsigma$; while nearly *forty* of them are 800 years old; *eleven* are 900; *six* are 1000; *one*, if not another, is at least upwards of 1200; and the Alexandrian Codex is supposed to be nearly 1500 years of age.

II. VERSIONS. The reading Θεός is supported by the *Philoxenian Syriac*, the *Arabic* of the Polyglott, the *Slavonic*, and the *Georgian* versions.

[1.] The *Philoxenian Syriac*, made by Polycarp, at the instance of Philoxenus, bishop of Hierapolis in Syria, between the years 488 and 518, and afterwards revised by Thomas of Heraclea in 616, is of great value in sacred criticism, both on account of the servility with which every word and phrase of the Greek text has been imitated, etymological niceties not excepted; and because the MSS. which formed its basis, and which must have been much older than any now in existence, are supposed to have contained the text of Origen.* The MSS. with which it was afterwards collated are expressly stated by Thomas himself to be "very excellent and correct copies." They were found in the Antonian Monastery at Alexandria.†

In this version the passage is thus rendered:
 : אלהים בשר ודם; כל האדם הולך בדרכי אלהים
 : "And confessedly great is the mys-
 tery of the good fear of God, who was manifested
 in the flesh," &c. That Θεός existed in the MSS.
 from which the version was made is placed beyond
 all doubt by the fact, that in all the other passages
 of the N. T. in which the word εὐσεβεία occurs,
 the words אלהים בשר ודם "good fear," alone are
 used, without the addition of אלהים God. These

* Hug's Introduction, Vol. I. p. 374, and Eichhorn's Repertorium. VII. Theil. S. 74.

† Hug, p. 373.

instances are *thirteen* in number ; the uniformity in the rendering of which, makes the deviation in the present case the more remarkable. What adds to the certainty of our conviction that Θεὸς was in those MSS. is the striking coincidence, that it is found in chap. ii. 10, the only other passage which contains the rendering : ܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ “the good fear of *God*,” though there it only forms part of the word Θεοσεβεία, which the phrase in question is designed to express.

Another circumstance must not be left unnoticed. In every other instance in which in the Philoxenian version, a noun is put in construction with ܐܠܗܐ *God*, the latter has ܕ *Dolath*, the regular sign of the Genitive, prefixed to it ; as ܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ “O man of *God* ;” ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ “The kingdom of *God* ;” but, in the phrase before us, the ܕ *Dolath* is omitted, and the words are given precisely as the Peshito Syriac translates φοβός Θεοῦ. The remark of Michaelis,* that “a single Olaph added at the end of ܐܠܗܐ would make a considerable alteration,” is so far just, as it would, by putting that word in the emphatic state, disengage it from ܐܠܗܐ, which would then begin the following sentence : whereas the translator meant them to be connected. And, having purposely introduced the word for Θεὸς at the end of the former clause, he could not conveniently repeat it, as that would have been to represent the Greek as reading Θεοῦ. Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη. He therefore preferred the other alternative.

* Introduction, Vol. II. p. 72.

The Latin translation of Professor White, the Editor of this Version, is calculated to lead the reader to suppose that the Syriac favours the lection : *ὁ ἐφανερώθη*, which it by no means does. He gives it : “mysterium *pietatis* : quod,” &c. whereas it should have been : “mysterium *timoris Dei*, qui.”

In the margin of the Philoxenian is the various reading *ܐܠܗ*; but this is only intended more definitively to mark *ܐܠܗ* God as the immediate antecedent to the verb, and is the fuller and more usual form of the relative. Thus, chap. ii. 3, 4, *ܐܠܗ—ܐܠܗܐ ܐܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ* God who willeth that “all,” &c. ; vi. 13. *ܐܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ* “God who quickeneth all.” Acts iv. 24. *ܐܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ* “Thou art God who didst make,” &c. If, therefore, we admit the reading into the text, the form will be parallel with that of the passages just quoted : *ܐܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ* “God who was manifested,” &c. Had Professor White attended to the frequent occurrence of this form, and given a verbal translation in which the word *Dei* was used, he never could have said, as he does in his note : “Cum vero nomen masc. generis in sententia non præcedat, vocabulo *qui* in textu non sum usus.”

[2.] The *Arabic* of the Polyglott has the following paraphrastic version : هذه المناقب ذكر بها بجسمه سر الديانة الحسنه الاله ظهر ببسرة “Remember this principle, the great mystery of the true religion : God appeared in the flesh.” That this version

was made immediately from the Greek, and that it was executed in Africa, has been proved by Michaelis and Hug; but at what time it was made has not been ascertained, though it must have been between the seventh and eleventh centuries. With the above text, that published under the superintendence of Solomon Negri, London, 1727, agrees, except in the first clause of the verse, where the version is rendered more literal.

[3.] The *Slavonic* version exhibits **БГѢ ІДВНСА
ВО ПЛОТН**, "God was manifested in the flesh." This version, which is very literal, was made from Greek MSS. in the ninth century, but these MSS. may reasonably be regarded as expressing the text of an earlier period. The position which Porson assumes in regard to it will not be disputed. "I am content to produce the authority of this version for no more than a tolerable proof what was the usual reading in the *sixth* (or, if, when you find it turned against you, you should be zealous to depress its value) in the seventh and eighth centuries."* The reading, which we have just given, is not only found in all the printed editions of the Slavonic N. T., but also in all the MSS.; some of which are of the eleventh century; and all of which, as well as the Editio Princeps, and the text of the second edition of the Slavonic Bible, omit 1 John v. 7.

[4.] The *Georgian*, which was made about the year 600 from Greek MSS., also reads **ἰδὲ θεὸς ἐν σαρκὶ**

* Letters to Travis, p. 201.

ἡ θεὸς ἐν σαρκὶ ὡς ἡμεῖς, "God mani-

fest in the flesh." It is true this version underwent a revision about the middle of last century; but it does not appear that any different reading was found either in this passage or 1 John v. 7, with respect to the omission, in which it agreed with other ancient versions.

III. FATHERS. Though we meet with no formal quotation of the passage before the middle of the third century, yet in one or two places of the earliest of the Fathers, certain modes of expression occur which seem to presuppose, and to have been produced by the common reading.

[1.] *Ignatius*, bishop of Antioch, A. D. 107, writes, in his Epistle to the Ephesians, chap. vii. *Εἰς ἰατρός ἐστιν σαρκικός τε καὶ πνευματικός, γεννητὸς καὶ ἀγέννητος, ἐν σαρκὶ γενόμενος Θεός.* "There is one Physician, both corporeal and spiritual, begotten and unbegotten, God *born in the flesh.*" In chap. xix. his language, though still not identical, is perfectly coincident: *Πῶς οὖν ἐφανερώθη τοῖς αἰώσιν—παλαιὰ βασιλεία διεφθείρετο, Θεοῦ ἀνθρωπίνως φανερομένου.* "How then was he manifested to the world—the old kingdom was destroyed when God *was manifested as man.*"

[2.] *Hippolytus*, A. D. 220, in his Homily against Noëtus, chap. xvii. *Οὗτος προελθὼν εἰς κόσμον Θεὸς ἐν σώματι ἐφανερώθη.* "He coming into the world, was God *manifested in the body.*"

[3.] *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, A. D. 260, is the first who expressly cites the words in his Epistle

against Paul of Samosata : Εἷς ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστὸς, ὁ ὢν ἐν τῇ πατρὶ συναΐδιος Λόγος· ἕν αὐτοῦ πρόσωπον, ἀόρατος Θεὸς, καὶ ὁρατὸς γενόμενος· Θεὸς γὰρ ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί : “ Christ is one, who is in the Father, the Co-eternal Word. There is one person of him who is the invisible God, and who became visible : for God *was manifested in the flesh.*”

[4.] *Athanasius*, A. D. 326. Not to insist on the words Φωβεῖσθαι τὴν περὶ τοῦ τηλικούτου μυστηρίου ζήτησιν, ὁμολογεῖν δὲ ὅτι πεφανέρωται Θεὸς ἐν σαρκὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀποστόλικην παράδοσιν : “ That they be afraid to search into so great a mystery, but that they confess that God *was manifested in the flesh*, according to the apostolic tradition ;” as the Book on the Incarnation of the Word, in which they occur, is not clearly proved to be the work of this Father, though there can be little doubt it was written in or near his time ; we are furnished with a quotation of the passage, in his fourth Epistle to Serapion, introduced in such a manner as clearly to show that Θεός, and neither ὁς nor ὅ, was the reading of his text. Ἐχουσι γὰρ Ἀπόστολον συγγνώμον αὐτοῖς νέμοντα, καὶ οἶονεὶ χεῖρα αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ λέγειν ἐκτείνοντα, ὅτι καὶ ὁμολογουμένως μέγα ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον, Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί. “ For they have the Apostle offering them an apology, when, stretching out, as it were, the hand to them, he says : And confessedly great is the mystery of Godliness : God *was manifested in the flesh.*”

[5.] *Gregory Nyssene*, A. D. 370, frequently quotes and refers to the words in connexions which

admit of no other reading but Θεός. Thus, in his Second Oration : Πεισθέντες ὅτι ἀληθῶς Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί, ἐκείνο μόνον ἀληθινὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον εἶναι, κ. τ. λ. “ Being persuaded that in truth God *was manifested in the flesh*. This same is the only true mystery of Godliness,” &c. Again, Oration IV. Πάντες οἱ τὸν λόγον κηρύσσοντες ἐν τούτῳ τὸ θαῦμα τοῦ μυστηρίου καταμηνύουσιν ὅτι Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί, ὅτι ὁ Λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο. “ All who preach the word, pronounce the wonder of the mystery to be in this: That God *was manifested in the flesh*, that the Word was made flesh,” &c. And in his Tenth Oration, when proving the Divinity of our Lord from Rom. ix. 5, Tit. ii. 13, and 1 Tim. iii. 16, he states in reference to the last passage : Τιμοθέε δὲ διαρρήδην βοᾷ ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί. “ And to Timothy, he explicitly and loudly declares, that God *was manifest in the flesh*.”

[6.] Chrysostom, A. D. 398, quotes and expounds the passage in his Commentary thus : Καὶ ὁμολογουμένως, φησὶ, μέγα ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον. Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί, ἐδικαιώθη ἐν πνεύματι· τουτέστιν ἡ οἰκονομία ἡ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν. Μὴ μοι εἴπῃς τοὺς κώδωνας μηδὲ τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων, μηδὲ τὸν ἀρχιερέα· στυλὸς ἐστὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἡ ἐκκλησία. Ἐννόησον τὸ μυστήριον, καὶ φρίξαι ἔχεις. Καὶ μυστήριον ἐστὶ, καὶ μέγα, καὶ εὐσεβείας μυστήριον, καὶ ὁμολογουμένως, οὐ ζητουμένως, ἀναμφίβολον γὰρ ἐστίν. Ἐπειδὴ περὶ ἱερέων διαταττόμενος, εἰς ἕτεραν ἀνάγει τὸ πρᾶγμα, λέγων· Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί, τουτέστιν ὁ Δημιουργός. “ And confessedly great, he says, is

the mystery of Godliness : God was manifested in the flesh, justified in the spirit. This is the economy under which we live. Tell me not of the bells, nor of the Holy of holies, nor of the High-priest. The Church is the pillar of the world. Consider the mystery and tremble. For it is a *mystery*, and *great*, and a mystery of *godliness*, and *confessedly* and *indisputably* such : for it is of *no doubtful meaning*. After having given charge concerning ministers, he brings forward a different subject, saying : God was manifested in the flesh ; *i.e.* The CREATOR." And commenting further on it, he adds : Διὰ τοῦτο φησὶν ὁμολογουμένως μέγα ἐστὶ, καὶ γὰρ ὄντως μέγα. Ἀνθρώπος γὰρ ἐγένετο ὁ Θεός, καὶ Θεὸς ὁ ἄνθρωπος. " On this account, he says, it is confessedly great. For it is in reality great : God *became man*, and man, God."

In his Homily on John i. 18, when treating of the invisibility of God, he argues as follows : Εἰ δὲ ἀλλαχοῦ, φησὶ Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκὶ, μὴ θαυμάσης· ὅτι ἡ φανέρωσις διὰ τῆς σαρκὸς, οὐ μὴν κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν γέγονεν. Ἐπεὶ ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἀορατὸς οὐ μόνον ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς ἄνω δυνάμεσιν δείκνυσιν ὁ Παῦλος. Εἰπὼν γὰρ ὅτι ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκὶ, ἐπήγαγε, ὅτι ὤφθη ἀγγέλοις, ὥστε καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις τότε ὤφθη, ὅτε σάρκα περιεβάλετο. " But if he elsewhere says : God *was manifested in the flesh*, wonder not ; because this manifestation through the flesh did not take place according to the *Essence*, as indeed Paul himself afterwards shows that he is not invisible to men only, but also to the powers above. For having said, that he was

manifested in the flesh, he adds, that he was seen of the angels : so that he also appeared to the angels when he invested himself with flesh."

Adverting, in his Homily for Philogonius, to the condescension of the Saviour in becoming man, he says : Τὸ δὲ Θεὸν ὄντα, ἄνθρωπον θελήσαι γενέσθαι, καὶ ἀνασχέσθαι καταβῆναι τοσοῦτον, ὅσον οὐδὲ διάνοια δέξεσθαι δύναται. Τοῦτο δὴ ἐστὶ τὸ φρικωδέστατον, καὶ ἐκπλήξεως γέμον. Ὁ δὲ Παῦλος θαυμάζων, λέγει καὶ ὁμολ. μ. ε. τ. τ. ε. μυστήριον. Ποῖον μέγα ; Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί. " And that *He who was God*, should choose to become man, and vouchsafe to condescend to such a degree as no mind can conceive — this is the most confounding and astonishing. Which Paul, admiring, says ; ' And confessedly great is the mystery of godliness : *God was manifested in the flesh.*'"

[7.] *Cyril of Alexandria*, A. D. 412, in his first Oration on the orthodox faith, reasons as follows : Καὶ ὁμολογουμένως, κ. τ. λ. Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί. Τίς ὁ ἐν σαρκὶ φανερωθεὶς ; ἡ δὴλον, ὅτι πάντα τε καὶ πάντως ὁ ἐκ Θεοῦ πατρὸς λόγος. Οὕτω γὰρ ἔσται μέγα τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον. " And confessedly, &c. *God was manifested in the flesh.* Who was it that was manifested in the flesh ? Is it not obvious, that it was He who is absolutely and entirely the Word of God the Father ? For thus the mystery of godliness will be great." And immediately after : Οὗτι που φάμεν, ὅτι καθ' ἡμᾶς ἄνθρωπος ἀπλῶς, ἀλλὰ Θεὸς ἐν σαρκί, καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς γεγονῶς. " We do not say that he was simply a man as we are, but Θεὸς, God in the flesh, and born like unto us."

[8.] Theodoret, A. D. 423, comments on the passage thus : Μυστήριον δὲ αὐτὸ καλεῖ, ὡς ἄνωθεν μὲν προορισθέν. (Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί) Θεὸς γὰρ ὢν, καὶ Θεοῦ υἱὸς, καὶ ἀόρατος ἔχων τὴν φύσιν, δηλὸς ἅπασιν ἐνανθρωπήσας ἐγένετο. Σαφῶς δὲ ἡμᾶς τὰς δύο φύσεις ἐδίδαξεν, ἐν σαρκὶ γὰρ τὴν θείαν ἔφη φανερωθῆναι φύσιν. “He calls the same a mystery; as that which had been predetermined from the beginning, and was afterwards manifested. *God was manifested in the flesh.* For being God, and the Son of God, and possessing an invisible nature, when he became incarnate, he was manifest to all. Thus he hath clearly taught us the two natures; for he affirms that the *Divine Nature* was manifested in the flesh.”

[9.] *Euthalius*, A. D. 458, who undertook a new division of the Greek text into chapters, and wrote out a copy of Paul's Epistles with his own hand, reads in like manner, Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί, “God manifest in the flesh;” and entitles the chapter or division in which the words occur: περὶ Θείας σαρκώσεως, “of the *Divine* Incarnation.”

To the testimonies of these Fathers might be added those of Damascene, Photius, Œcumenius, Theophylact, and others who flourished in succeeding ages of the Church; but these are sufficient to show what was the reading of the passages in the MSS. in use among the Greeks, and to demonstrate how utterly without foundation are the assertions made by Sir Isaac Newton, that the churches during the *first five centuries* were absolute strangers to this reading, and that

Macedonius, in the beginning of the *sixth* century, first introduced it into the text.

Attempts have been made to throw discredit on the texts of Chrysostom and Cyril; but nothing in the shape of proof that the passages have been falsified has yet been produced; and it is only necessary carefully to examine the connexions in which the text is introduced, and the specific point and bearing of the arguments, in order to perceive that, to free the writers from the charge of incongruous and inconclusive reasoning, the reading must be Θεός, and not ὁς or ὁ. What Bishop Horsley asserts, in reference to one of the passages in Chrysostom, may be applied to most of the other testimonies: "Substitute ὁ for Θεός in the text of Chrysostom, and the exposition τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ὁ δημιουργός will be *rank nonsense*.*

We shall conclude this section, with the testimony of a Latin Father, Epiphanius, the Deacon, A. D. 787, who, in his Panegyrio on the Second Council of Nice, quotes the passage conformably to the reading of the Greek Vulgate: "Audi igitur Paulum magna voce clamantem, et veritatem istam corroborantem: *Deus* manifestatus est in carne, justificatus est in spiritu—O magni doctoris affatum! *Deus*, inquit, manifestatus est in carne."

IV. PRINTED EDITIONS.—Before proceeding to notice the critical editions of the Greek N. T. which exhibit the reading Θεός, it may not be out

* Newton's Historical Account, p. 67.

of place to call the attention of the reader to the annotation of *Laurentius Valla*, who, in the judgment of Dr. Meyer,* deserves an honourable rank among Biblical critics, on account of the distinguished manner in which he rose above the age in which he lived (A. D. 1440), in his abandonment of its crude and undigested opinions, and the foundation which he laid for a grammatical and rational interpretation of the Bible. Formed in the school of the Greek and Latin classics, he was well practised in the mode of treating critical subjects; and possessing a profound knowledge of the original language of the New Testament, and the history of the text, he was admirably qualified to detect and expose the errors of the Latin Vulgate, which he did in the most frank and open manner. This author, whom Erasmus designates ὁ κριτικώτατος, writes as follows:—" *Quod neutraliter legitur, masculinè legendum est, addendumque Deus: sic enim est Græcè: Et planè, sive haud dubie, sive quod Græco magis respondet, et sine controversia, id est confessè, ὁμολογουμένως, Magnum est pietatis Sacramentum, id est, mysterium. Deus manifestatus est in carne, justificatus est in spiritu, apparuit angelis, prædicatus est in gentibus, creditus est in mundo, assumptus est in gloria. Nam quomodo, ut argumento agam, potest mysterium assumi in gloria? Christus in gloria assumptus est: μέγα ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον. Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί, κ. τ. λ.*"

* History of the Interpretation of Scripture, Vol. I. p. 155.

[1.] The first printed edition in which the reading appears is the Spanish, or *Complutensian Polyglott*, where we find it thus confronted with the *quod* of the Vulgate:—

Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί,
quod manifestatum est in carne;

a discrepancy, which, while it is of importance to our present inquiry, goes to corroborate the opinion of Griesbach, Goetze, Michaelis, Marsh, and other learned critics, that the editors did not alter the text to render it conformable to the Latin version. The question respecting the Greek MSS. which they used has not yet been satisfactorily settled. According to their own statement, they were *vetustissima simul et emendatissima*, which declaration, though requiring, perhaps, some abatement, is entitled to more attention than some seem disposed to pay to it. The story about the destruction of these MSS. by a rocket-maker is now completely exploded, and we may still hope that they will one day be brought to light.

[2.] The Editio Princeps of *Erasmus* (1516) reads—

Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί;
Deus manifestatus in carne.

Here the *quod* of the Vulgate is changed into *Deus*, and the neuter participle converted into the masculine to agree with it. It has been attempted to depreciate the critical labours of Erasmus, on the ground of the paucity of MSS. which he used in preparing the copy; but it has been proved,

that though, in editing the Acts and Epistles, he laid the Basil Codex of the ninth century as the basis of his text, he did not confine himself to its readings, but adopted what otherwise appeared to be supported by the best authorities. He had access to the Vatican library, was acquainted with the merits of the oriental and western readings, and had diligently perused the Fathers, in order to ascertain in what way they had quoted the passages to which they refer. Since his Greek text latinizes much more than that of Complutum, and he has been supposed, in several instances, to favour the Vulgate, and especially since he does not scruple to give it as his opinion, that Θεός had been foisted into the text in the time of the Arian controversy, we may be certain, that had he found any discrepancy of reading either in the MSS. of the N. T. or the Fathers, he would have availed himself of it, at least in his annotations. But on the subject of any such discrepancy he is altogether silent.

[3.] The same reading is exhibited in the Greek text of the *Aldine* Edition, 1518, which, though a reprint of that of Erasmus, yet was altered in many places, as might be expected; for Asculanus, the father-in-law of Aldus, expressly states in the preface, that, with a view to it, he had collated many very ancient MSS.

[4.] The texts of *Stephens* and *Beza*, which formed the basis of the innumerable editions of the Textus Receptus, also read Θεός. The latter editor, as we have already seen, declares, with the

Codex Claromontanus before him, that this was the constant reading of all the Greek MSS.

[5.] The critical editions of the Greek text published by *Walton*, *Mill*, and *Wetstein*, have the same reading; and, with the exception of that of *Wetstein*, may fairly be appealed to in its support, since it is a well-known fact, that though these profoundly learned editors adopted the Stephanic or Elzevir text, they declared themselves convinced of its genuineness on manuscript and other perfectly independent evidence.

[6.] The text of *Bengel*, according to the rule which he had laid down, not to insert any various reading which had not been found in one or other of the printed editions, necessarily exhibits the common reading $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$; but in his note he furnishes the reader with his reasons for considering it to be genuine.

[7.] $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ is retained in the edition of Dr. *Wells* (1709—1719), who emended the Greek text according to the materials furnished by *Mill*, and thus produced a text, differing only in some trivial points from more modern and corrected editions.

[8.] *Macey*, who omits 1 John v. 7 in his edition 1729, retains $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$, and translates the verse, "The mystery of piety is the pillar and basis of truth, and certainly most extraordinary: God has appeared in the flesh," &c. After adverting in his note to the Clermont, Boernerian, and Colbertine manuscripts, he adds,—“But all the other MSS. have $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$, even the Alexandrian MS., probably the most ancient of all.”

[9.] The critical editions of *Matthæi*, Riga, 1782—1788, in 12 vols. 8vo, and Wittenberg, 1803—1807, in 3 vols. 8vo, also read $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, which the editor defends, in the most able manner, in his note on the passage, as well as incidentally on other passages, and in his prefaces. Of *Matthæi*, the late Dr. Middleton observes, that he was the most accurate Greek scholar that ever edited the Greek Testament; and Biblical critics in general now highly appreciate the merits of his labours.

[10.] It is supported by the text and other important authorities in *Alter's* Greek N. T.

[11.] *Knapp*, than whom there never lived a more sharp-sighted, independent, and conscientious critic; and *Titmann*, another editor of very considerable authority, exhibit $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ in their recent editions.

[12.] In the edition of *Vater*, printed at Halle, 1824, and which is the most recent edition of the whole N. T. published in Germany, $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ is expressed thus, $[\Theta\epsilon]\omicron\varsigma$, to intimate, that, whatever opinion the editor might entertain on the subject of the reading, he did not consider $\delta\varsigma$ to be entitled to that exclusive possession of a place in the text, which Griesbach had assigned it in his second edition.

The results of our investigation in regard to the *external* evidence are the following:

In point of manuscript authority, δ , which Sir Isaac Newton maintains “all the churches, for the first four or five hundred years, and the authors of all

the ancient versions, Jerome, as well as the rest, read," and which also Wetstein advocates, is absolutely *without one positive and indisputable testimony*; $\delta\varsigma$, adopted by Griesbach, is clearly supported by the suffrage of only *three* manuscripts; whereas $\Theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$, the reading of the Textus Receptus, has been found in *upwards* of ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY, which, as before noticed, are all the other manuscripts of the Pauline Epistles, the collation of which has yet been published.

As it regards the Versions, the preponderance of their evidence would certainly be in favour of δ or $\delta\varsigma$, could it possibly be proved, that they were all made independently of each other from the Greek text, and that the Syriac uses the relative pronoun and not a conjunction; but the want of satisfactory proof in reference to some of them throws a proportionate degree of weight into the scale of those which positively support $\Theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$.

The Fathers are completely divided: the Greeks, conformably to their original Greek text, exhibiting $\Theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$; and the Latins, with a few exceptions, exhibiting *quod*, the reading of their Latin Vulgate.

With the amount of this evidence fairly before us, the question now is, whether *three* Greek MSS. not superior in point of age or character to many of the rest, the Latin Fathers, in their quotations of the Vulgate, and six ancient versions, whose testimony is equivocal, ought for a moment to outweigh upwards of *one hundred and seventy* Greek MSS., all the Greek Fathers, and four

ancient versions, made directly from the Greek text, at various times, and altogether independently of each other? On every principle of criticism usually applied to decide the amount and authority of external evidence in reference to ancient writings, must not Θεός be regarded as the original and genuine reading, and ε and ες rejected as unsupported in their claims to a place in the sacred text? Are there not testimonies of higher antiquity in favour of Θεός, than any that can be produced against it? Is it not borne out by all the diversity of evidence to which an appeal is made in such cases? Though it would be improper to determine questions of this nature purely by the number of the witnesses, without regard to their history and other criteria; yet is no importance whatever to be attached to the circumstance of *number*? Has the classification of Griesbach, by which he labours to muster the *few* against the *many*, and thereby depreciate the Byzantine text, met with general approbation? And especially as it regards the reading of 1 Tim. iii. 16, is he not considered by most critics to have completely failed?

Assuming it to be proved that Θεός was originally in the text, nothing is more easy than to account for the reading ες. In the transcription of ΘC from one of the Uncial MSS. it only required the letters OC to be written without the strokes, which might be omitted through negligence, in order to produce the whole of the difference. Or, the strokes might have been partially or entirely faded in some ancient exemplar, so as

to make the copyist take the word for *ὅς*. It is certainly much more natural to account in this way for the various reading, than to have recourse to the extreme hypothesis of violence and corruption. "That reading," says Velthusen, "the later origin of which cannot be accounted for without supposing a wilful corruption, is (generally speaking) the true one; and that which we can account for, from accidental causes, is (generally speaking) the false one." *

* Remarks on the True Reading of 1 Tim. iii. 16, p. 72.

CHAPTER V.

INTERNAL EVIDENCE—BOTH δ' AND δs UNGRAMMATICAL—OPINIONS OF NOLAN, BLOOMFIELD, AND JONES—THE PARENTHETICAL CONSTRUCTION, WHICH REFERS δs TO Θεοῦ ζῶντος, HARSH AND STRAINED—PROOFS THAT A PERSON IS THE SUBJECT OF THE SEVERAL PROPOSITIONS—MEANING OF THE TERMS EMPLOYED TO EXPRESS THESE PROPOSITIONS.—CONCLUSION.

THE other branch of evidence by which to determine the genuineness of a reading is the *internal*, or that which is furnished by the phraseology and other circumstances of the text itself.

With respect to δ and δs , neither of them accords with the laws of grammatical construction. The former, being neuter, will agree, indeed, with *μυστήριον*, which is a neuter noun, and thus the same sense may be supposed to be brought out of the passage as that which is furnished by the Vulgate. But to warrant such an interpretation, the genius of the Greek language requires the construction to be τὸ μυστήριον τῆς εὐσεβείας Τὸ φανερωθέν. Besides being clogged with the same difficulty, δs , as a relative, does not agree in gender with *μυστήριον*.

Sometimes, indeed, the relative occurs in the masculine, though the preceding noun with which it is immediately connected be neuter; but, in such cases, the noun is used in a personal sense, as, Gal. iii. 16, τῷ σπέρματι σου, ὃς ἐστὶ Χριστός, "Thy seed *who* is Christ;" Col. ii. 19, τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐξ οὗ, "the head from *whom*;" which is more than can be proved of the word μυστήριον, either in this or any other passage of the New Testament. Col. i. 27 forms no exception; for there ὁ πλοῦτος, and not μυστηρίου, is the nominative to ὃς. Christ is ὁ πλοῦτος τῆς δόξης, "*the glorious fulness* of the mystery;" not "*the mystery*" itself.

Equally opposed to grammar is the rendering of ὅς, *HE WHO*, which was adopted by Benson, and is followed by Belsham in the "Improved Version," and in his Translation and Exposition of the Epistles of Paul. This has been clearly shewn by an able writer in the British Critic, who can be no other than the Rev. Mr. Nolan, author of "The Integrity of the Greek Vulgate." In 1 Tim. iii. 16, he says, "the phrase ὃς ἐφανερώθη is little reconcilable either with sense or grammar. In order to make it Greek in the sense of the Improved Version, it should be ὁ φανερωθεὶς; but this reading is rejected by the universal consent of manuscripts and translations. The subjunctive article ὃς is indeed used indefinitely; but it is then put for ὅς ἂν, ὃς ἐὰν, ὅστις ἂν, πᾶς ὅστις; Mark iv. 25, ix. 40, 41, Matt. x. 27, and xiv. 32, 33: and, as in this state it is synonymous with *whosoever*, we have only to put this term into the letter of the text to

discover that it reduces the reading of the corrected text to palpable nonsense. In Rom. viii. 32, ὅς, as the subjunctive article, is tied by the particle γε to its antecedent Θεός, as is directly apparent on viewing the text independent of its artificial division into verses, εἰ ὁ Θεός ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, τίς καθ' ἡμῶν; ὅς γε τοῦ ἰδίου υἱοῦ οὐκ ἐφείσατο. Had not this connexion existed, the apostle would have used the *participle* with *an article*, agreeably to the genius of the Greek and his usual practice, Gal. ii. 8, ὁ γὰρ ἐνεργήσας; Ib. iii. 5, ὁ οὖν ἐπιχορηγῶν; 2 Cor. ix. 10, ὁ δὲ ἐπιχορηγῶν*. With this, Bloomfield, in his Recensio Synoptica, agrees: “As to the reading ὅς ἐφανερώθη, we may safely maintain, that it is *not Greek*, at least in the sense which the espousers of that reading lay down, namely, ‘He who was manifested,’ &c.” And the late Dr. John Jones, in a paper, inserted in the Monthly Repository, Vol. IX. pp. 120—123, while he unequivocally shews to what school of theology he belonged, scruples not to express himself thus on the subject:—“Now for Θεός, the Vulgate reading, Griesbach has introduced ὅς, and endeavours to support the change by one of the most elaborate notes in his volumes. Yet I will engage to shew that he has proved nothing but his own incompetence as a critic, and his want of fidelity as a collater of the ancient copies.

“First, the new reading is erroneous, because it is neither good sense nor good Greek. The ante-

* British Critic, N. S. Vol. I. pp. 405, 406, and Integ. of Greek Vulgate, p. 566.

cedent, indeed, in Greek and in Latin, is often understood. In such instances, the antecedent is so defined by the verb connected with it, as to become, without ambiguity, the subject of another verb. But then it should be remembered it means a whole class, and never an individual. Ὅς ἐὰν λύσῃ μίαν τῶν ἐντολῶν τούτων—ἐλαχίστος κληθήσεται, Matt. v. 19. Here ὅς is for ἄνθρωπος ὅς; the antecedent ἄνθρωπος, being a general term, is limited by the clause ὅς ἐὰν λύσῃ; and, under this limitation, it is subject to κληθήσεται. ‘The man *that shall break* one of the least commandments shall be called least.’ In English, as well as in the original, the words in italics form the restricting clause, and the antecedent *man* with that restriction, is the nominative case to *shall be called*. If we try the new-fangled reading by this criterion, we shall find, that though grammatical in form, it is yet absurd in meaning. ‘He who hath appeared in the flesh is justified in the spirit, is seen by angels, &c. *But every man appears in the flesh: every man, therefore, is justified in the spirit, and seen by angels, &c.*’

“Secondly, the reformed reading perverts the language of the apostle. He says that ‘God appeared in the flesh.’ This is the great mystery which he had just mentioned; but if Θεὸς be taken away, or changed into ὅς, the mystery vanishes.”

From these remarks it must be obvious that ὅς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκὶ cannot be the subject, and all the subsequent propositions predicates; and that it must be itself a predicate in common with the

rest. This being the case, and there not being any concord between $\delta\varsigma$ and *μυστήριον*, it has been suggested, that, if $\delta\varsigma$ be at all admissible, it can have no other antecedent than Θεοῦ ζώντος at the end of the fifteenth verse. Placing the intermediate words within a parenthesis, the passage would then read thus: Ἐκκλησία Θεοῦ ζώντος (στύλος καὶ ἐδραίωμα τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ ὁμολογουμένης μέγα ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον) $\delta\varsigma$ ἐφανερώθη, κ. τ. λ. “The church of *the living God*, (the pillar and basis of the truth, and incontrovertibly great is the mystery of godliness), *who* was manifested,” &c. This construction of the passage, however, which was proposed by Berriman,* and has since been adopted by Cramer and others, though strictly grammatical, is, as Berriman himself acknowledges, harsh and strained, and not at all in the usual parenthetical style with which the writings of Paul are so highly charged.

That the subject of the several propositions contained in the verse is a person and not a thing, will appear on our attending to the meaning and force of the principal terms in which they are expressed.

[1.] Φανερώω is frequently used, indeed, of things, and expresses the disclosure or manifestation of what was previously concealed. It is even employed in connexion with *μυστήριον*, Col. i. 26; but it is also frequently used of persons, and especially of our Saviour, Mark xvi. 12, 14; John i. 31;

* Crit. Dissert. p. 339.

vii. 4; xxi. 1, 14; Col. iii. 4; 1 Pet. i. 20; 1 John i. 2; ii. 28; iii. 2, 5, 8. In some of these passages it is applied to his appearance at certain times during his public ministry, or after his resurrection, and also to his revelation from heaven at the second advent. But in 1 Pet. i. 20; 1 John i. 2; iii. 5, 8, it is particularly employed in reference to his coming into the world for the purpose of effecting human redemption. Even as taken thus separately by itself, *φανερόω*, in the passive voice, signifies **to come** into view, or be disclosed, by being born into the world.

It is peculiarly deserving of notice, that the entire phrase *φανεροῦσθαι ἐν σαρκί*, "*to be manifested in the flesh*," is never used of any other than Jesus Christ, and occurs, indeed, nowhere in Scripture, except in this place. It is, however, perfectly parallel to the phrases *ἐν σαρκὶ ἔρχεσθαι*, 1 John iv. 2, 3; 2 John 7; *ἐν ὁμοιώματι σαρκὸς πέμπεσθαι*, Rom. viii. 3; *μετέχειν σαρκὸς καὶ αἵματος*, Heb. ii. 14; which are, in like manner, exclusively appropriated to the appearance of the Son of God in a human body, or his assumption of the human nature. Of John the Baptist, and other prophets, it might be said that they "came" or "were sent," in reference to their mission; and the same might be said of Christ, in the same point of view, John i. 7; Matt. xi. 18, 19; xxi. 32; but it could not with any propriety be affirmed of them, that they "*came in the flesh*," to indicate their entrance into the world with a view to the accomplishment of their mission, since they could not have come in

any other way.* Many of the Socinians, feeling the pressure of the difficulty presented by the idiom in its obvious and exclusive reference to the appearance of our Lord in human nature, and its implication of his pre-existence and the possibility of his being manifested in a different manner, endeavour to elude it by rendering the words *ἐν σαρκὶ* in an instrumental sense, and interpreting the whole phrase of the revelation which God hath made known through the medium of weak and mortal men, *i. e.* the apostles. But to this it is sufficient to reply, that such an interpretation is perfectly repugnant to the *usus loquendi* of the New Testament: there not being a single passage in which the phrase is used in this sense. Sensible of this, the editors of the "Improved Version" retain the common translation, "manifested in the flesh," explaining it of real and proper humanity, but nothing more; and thus involve themselves in the most complete absurdity and self-contradiction. For what can possibly be more incongruous than

* "Is the phrase 'to come in the flesh' no more than equivalent to the word 'to come?' Are the words 'in the flesh' mere expletives? If they are not expletives, what is their import, but to limit the sense of the word *to come* to some particular *manner* of coming? This limitation either presumes a possibility of other ways of coming, or it is nugatory. But was it possible for a mere man to come otherwise than in the flesh? Nothing can be more decisive for my purpose than this comparison which you have suggested, between the word 'to come,' which is general, and the phrase 'to come in the flesh,' which is specific." *Bp. Horsley's Letters in Reply to Priestley*, p. 112.

to make the apostle assert what was not denied in his day : namely, that Christ was a man in reality, and not in appearance only ! Nothing has yet been produced from the remains of Christian antiquity to prove, that the opinion of the *Docetæ* relative to a phantasmical manifestation, was held by any person at that early period. Besides, what conceivable mystery is there in the appearance of *ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος*, a mere man, among other men, or as Belsham explains it, “ in a mean and humble form.” Is there any thing extraordinary in this ? any thing at all deserving the character of a GREAT MYSTERY ?

The self-contradiction to which we advert is this. Notwithstanding the efforts made by the Socinians to get rid of every thing in the shape or character of *mystery* in religion, and the ridicule which they are continually pouring upon such as receive the plain and unsophisticated statements of Scripture respecting the Trinity, the Incarnation, &c. for believing what they cannot comprehend, they are obliged to admit, that “ the *mystery* of the true worship is confessedly great ;” * and indeed, what can be more absolutely mysterious than a proposition put forth by such a rational writer as Paul, the amount of which is, that *a man was a man !*

According to the received reading of the passage, which we have shewn to be that established by a vast preponderance of external evidence, the

* Improved Version, 1 Tim. iii. 16, note.

doctrine which it teaches is almost verbally the same that is taught by John, in the first chapter of his Gospel, and in the beginning of his first Epistle :

Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί ;

Θεὸς ἦν ὁ Λόγος,—καὶ ὁ Λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο ;

Τὴν Ζωὴν τὴν αἰώνιον, ἥτις ἦν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ ἐφανερώθη ἡμῖν.

“ *God was manifested in the flesh.*

“ The Word was *God* ;—and the Word assumed humanity.”

“ That *Eternal Life*, which was with the Father, and was *manifested* unto us.”

1 Tim. iii. 16 ; John i. 1, 14 ; 1 John i. 1—3.

[2.] The person and claims of the Redeemer not having been recognized by the Jews during the period of his corporeal sojourn (ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ, Heb. v. 7.) ; but, on the contrary, vilified and misrepresented, Isaiah iii. 3, 4 ; it was necessary, that the dignity of the one, and the validity of the other, should be vindicated—which the Apostle declares to have been done when ἐδικαιώθη ἐν πνεύματι. The word δικαιόω not only signifies to acquit or absolve from punishment, but also to do justice to one's character, by acknowledging and declaring him to be free from all imputation of blame. Thus wisdom is said to be justified, Matt. xi. 19, and God himself, Rom. iii. 4. Michaelis proposes, that it should be rendered, “ suffered capital punishment ;” and by introducing

a different punctuation, attempts to shew, that the passage may be translated thus: " God was manifested; suffered death in the flesh; appeared in the spirit to the angels," &c. But to this mode of interpretation, it may justly be objected, that no such idea as that of punishment is found to attach to *δικαίωω* in N. T. Greek; and that the connecting of *ἐδικαιώθη* with *ἐν σαρκί*, which precedes, and not with *ἐν πνεύματι*, which follows it, destroys the harmonious structure of the verse; all the other verbs being placed before and not after the substantives to which they belong.—The phrase *ἐν πνεύματι* occurring, as it does here, in contrast with *ἐν σαρκί*, necessarily means its opposite, according to the established antithetical relation of *σάρξ* and *πνεῦμα*, Rom. i. 4; 1 Pet. iii. 18; and partially Heb. ix. 14; so that, if the one signify the state or condition of humanity in which he appeared during the period of his (*κένωσις*) humiliation, the other must signify that state in which he existed after his resurrection, and in which he now exists, with special reference to the glorious manifestations of his *spiritual*, superhuman and divine nature, with which his glorified body is for ever and indissolubly united. This vindication (*δικαίωσις*) was effected by his victory over death and the curse, to which the Jews had condemned him; his exaltation to the right hand of the Father; and the effusion of the miraculous gifts of the Holy Spirit. Had he not been what he professed he was, such stupendous effects would not have followed; his predictions would have remained un-

fulfilled, and his cause and character would have been overwhelmed with utter confusion.

[3.] We remark, that *ᾠφθη* cannot be referred to *μυστήριον*; nor can *ἄγγελοις* be interpreted of the Apostles. This will appear, when it is taken into consideration, that *φανερῶ* and *γνωρίζω* are the verbs elsewhere used by the Apostle, when speaking of the revelation of a mystery; and that *ὁπτομαι* is never employed, except to denote either external physical vision, or that by which one spiritual being apprehends or discovers another. It is never applied to any thing that is not the subject of conscious existence. With respect to the term *ἄγγελος*, we observe, that though, like the Hebrew *מַלְאָךְ*, it signifies a human messenger, as well as one of that superior and spiritual race of beings who are employed by Jehovah in administering the affairs of his empire, there does not appear sufficient ground for departing, in our interpretation of it in this place, from the current usage of the New Testament, according to which the distinctive terms *ἄγγελοι* and *ἀπόστολοι* are used with marked discrimination of the celestial messengers who are appointed to minister to the heirs of salvation, and the primary and inspired agents who were selected by our Saviour to lay the foundation of his spiritual temple.

Though despised and rejected by men, who saw no beauty in him, the Lord Jesus was the object of adoring contemplation to the hosts of heaven. During his ministry upon earth, they

“ Oft gaz’d, and wonder’d, where at length
This scene of love would end.”

And when he was “received up into glory,” it was amid their attendant bands, who had received the charge to render to him divine honours. Ps. lxxviii. 17. xcvi. 6. Heb. i. 6.

[4.] The phrases ἐκηρύχθη ἐν ἔθνεσιν, and ἐπιστεύθη ἐν κόσμῳ, evidently refer to the apostolic announcements of the gospel, according to the ample latitude of the commission, and the amazing success with which they were accompanied. The sum and substance of their preaching was “Christ crucified,” and the divine command which they universally enforced was, that men “should believe in his name.”

[5.] It must be very obvious, that whatever may plausibly be advanced in favour of the hypothesis, that μυστήριον is the nominative to the verbs ἐφανερώθη, ἐδικαιώθη, ὤφθη, ἐκηρύχθη, and ἐπιστεύθη, nothing can possibly be more harsh than to carry it forward, and make it the nominative to ἀναλήφθη ἐν δόξῃ; and then explain this, with Benson, “Met with a glorious reception.” The reception given to the gospel, or, rather, to Christ as the subject of the gospel-testimony, had already been expressed by the verb ἐπιστεύθη; and the glorious extent of that reception by the phrase ἐν κόσμῳ. Besides, ἀναλαμβάνομαι is never employed to express the reception given to a doctrine or testimony, but signifies to be raised on high, received up or back, and is the very word which is used in reference to the ascension of our blessed

Lord to heaven, Mark xvi. 19. Acts i. 2, 11, 22. Ἀναλήφθη ἐν δόξῃ in our text, is equivalent to ἀναληφθεὶς εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν, Acts i. 11; and the substantive ἀνάληψις, formed from the same verb, is, in like manner, used to denote the reception of Jesus, after the completion of his work upon earth, into the glory (δόξα) which he had with the Father before the world began, Luke ix. 51. John xvii. 5.

The principal objection that has been advanced against Θεός, as the genuine reading of the passage, is founded on the supposed incongruity of combining this word with the concluding proposition, and asserting, that “God was received up into glory;” but the difficulty vanishes the moment it is considered, that after the declaration Θεός ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκὶ has been admitted, the mind necessarily associates the idea of the σὰρξ or human nature with that of the divine, and easily discriminates between what may be predicated of the one, what of the other, and what jointly of both.

We have now brought our critical examination of this important passage to a close. The charge of corruption, alleged by Sir Isaac Newton, we have shewn to be unfounded. The reading, which he contends to have been that originally in the text, and used by the Church during the first five centuries, we have seen rejected by Griesbach, and all critics of any note, and abandoned even by the Socinians themselves. That adopted by the celebrated German editor, and the “Improved Version” of it, have been proved to be as destitute

of solid and sufficient authority, as they are contrary to the idiom of the Greek language, and at variance with some of the first principles of biblical philology and exegesis. And the reading of the received text has been established by a mass of cumulative evidence, derived from the sources to which an appeal is ordinarily made on questions of this nature. While, therefore, the enemies of our Lord's Divinity attempt to give eclat to their opinions, by mixing up with the publication of them the name of a great philosopher, it cannot but prove satisfactory to those who have cordially embraced that doctrine, to find that the passage which has been the subject of investigation, so far from suffering any detriment from the most rigid critical scrutiny to which it may be brought, only gains in point of stability and authority, and continues to demand an unhesitating reception of the great mystery which it proclaims: **GOD WAS MANIFESTED IN THE FLESH.**

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Extract from "Letters on Unitarianism; addressed to the Members of the First Presbyterian Church, in the City of Baltimore. By Samuel Miller, D.D. Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Church Government, in the Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, at Princeton." Trenton. 1821. 8vo.

BUT after all, Unitarians are in the constant habit of pressing into the list of their friends, and advocates, many whose names ought never to be placed in such company. If any distinguished man be found to have speculated on the doctrine of the Trinity, or that of the Deity of the Redeemer, in an unusual manner; if he be found to doubt whether the common mode of speaking on these doctrines is the best, or whether the Athanasian creed is expressed with sufficient caution; he is immediately set down as a Unitarian. If one of this character happen to say a word against *Creeds* and *Confessions*; or to employ mild, indulgent language toward those who deny the Saviour's divinity; he is unceremoniously affirmed to be a Unitarian. Nay, if in the honesty of his heart, the most thorough Trinitarian, should drop an expression, which can be so construed, by a torturing logick, as to admit of a consequence never thought of by him who uttered it; he is

forthwith pronounced a Unitarian. On grounds of this sort, you may rely upon it, my brethren, many a pious friend of orthodoxy has been represented as standing in the Unitarian ranks. You are by no means, therefore, to conclude, that every one to whom they give this name really deserves it. The gross calumny with which they have perseveringly followed the excellent Doctor *Watts*, is a specimen of this injustice as striking as it is shameful.

With respect to many others whom Unitarians claim, my only wonder is, that conscientious men can possibly boast of such persons as an honour to any cause: when they bring forward, for example, a long list of clergymen and others, of the church of *England*, who solemnly professed their belief in the Thirty-nine Articles, and who constantly made use of a liturgy, the whole character of which is strikingly Trinitarian; but who are still alleged to have been Unitarians in principle; I am amazed at their inconsiderate zeal. Either these persons were really Unitarians, or they were not. If they were *not*, then they have been basely calumniated. If they *were*, then they have lived in habits of the most shameful dishonesty and perjury; a dishonesty and perjury which, if known, could not fail of rendering them, in the eyes of all upright men, a disgrace to any society calling itself a church of Christ.

I shall not now agitate the question whether *Newton* and *Locke* were Unitarians, as has been confidently alleged. But if they were, their morality was worthy of their creed. Both of them repeatedly subscribed to the Articles of the Church of *England*, and both of them habitually joined in the communion, as well as in the prayers of that church. Did they do this then, believing those Articles to be ESSENTIALLY ERRONEOUS, even with regard to fundamental doctrines; and that worship to be GROSS IDOLATRY? If so, claim them who will! They would have been a disgrace to

an orthodox church, and would certainly have been cast out of it, unless it had been unfaithful, or they had concealed their principles. *Whiston*, it seems, does allege that *Newton* was almost incurably displeased with him, for having said that he (*Newton*) was an *Arian*. This looks as if either the charge was false, or he was ASHAMED OF HIS CREED, and wished to maintain the character of an orthodox man. Either supposition, I should think, would be far from doing credit to the Unitarian cause. As to Mr. *Locke*, if there were truth and candour in the man, he was no *Socinian*; for he solemnly denied it while he lived; he acknowledged the doctrine of Christ's SATISFACTION FOR SIN; and after his death, a distinguished literary friend, who lived with him during several of the last years of his life, and who translated the most valuable of his works into the French language, declares that, in his last moments, he thanked God "for the love shewn to man in justifying him by faith in Jesus Christ, and in particular for having called him to the knowledge of that DIVINE SAVIOUR."*

No. II.

IN Lord King's Life of Locke are three letters from Sir Isaac Newton to Locke, in which reference is made to his papers, containing the dissertations on 1 John v. 7, and 1 Tim. iii. 16; and some further light is thrown on the subject by a few extracts from Le Clerc, furnished by Dr. Rees, whose remarks Lord King has inserted, pp. 227—233. From the whole it appears, that Sir Isaac was desirous of

* *Locke's Works*. Vol. IX. p. 173. 8vo Edit.

having the work first published in French, and, if it met with the approbation of Biblical critics abroad, that it should afterwards appear in England. The papers were communicated to Locke in the strictest confidence. The author, it is said, with his characteristic timidity, shrunk from the responsibility of sending them forth to the public with the sanction of his name; and as Locke was at the time meditating a voyage to Holland, his purpose was that he should take the papers with him, and through the medium of some literary acquaintance procure the translation and publication of them.

Mr. Locke, having postponed or abandoned his design of re-visiting Holland, forwarded the papers to his friend Le Clerc, with instructions to have them translated and published. Sir Isaac Newton was not apprised of this circumstance, but knowing that Mr. Locke had not quitted England, concluded that they were still in his possession. In the second letter, written fifteen months after the first, he expresses his regret at learning that this was not the case, and entreats Mr. Locke to countermand the translation, *it being his design to suppress the work*. "Let me entreat you," he writes, "to stop their translation and impression so soon as you can, for I design to suppress them." In the third letter, written three months later, he says, he was "*glad the edition was stopped*."

This change on the part of the illustrious author, Dr. Rees ascribes to his wish not to "expose himself to the scoffs or the censures of *the theological bigots of the age*, who were either *incompetent* or *indisposed* to appreciate the value of his labours." From the concluding observation of the same writer, it appears Sir Isaac would have had little chance of meeting with a better reception had he lived and published his work at a more recent period: it being very charitably hinted that no person holding the theo-

logical creed of Bp. Horsley, would be candid or honest enough to tell the world what is the real state of the copies found in the collection of the Newton MSS. at Lord Portsmouth's, at Hurstborne. Referring to these copies, he says, "but whether in a perfect state, or not, cannot be ascertained until that collection shall have been examined by *some competent person, less influenced by theological and ecclesiastical biasses* than the learned and Right Reverend editor of Sir Isaac Newton's works."

That several manuscript copies of the Dissertation are in existence there can be little doubt. Mr. Berriman took a copy of that part relating to 1 Tim. iii. 16, which is still preserved in Sion College Library, accompanied with several interesting notices, among which I have had the satisfaction of finding a distinct recognition of the glaring inconsistency existing between the two parts of the work, to which reference has been made in the preceding pages.

No. III.

List of Works in which the Subject of the preceding Investigation is discussed, and to which the Reader is referred for further information.

Erasmus.—Novum Testamentum Græce et Latine.

Baronii Annales Ecclesiast.—Ann. 510. ix.

Calovii Biblia Illustrata.

In his note on the passage, the author, at great length, with prodigious learning, and many forcible arguments, refutes the statements of Enjedin, Socinus, Smalcus, and Grotius. The very uncereemonious manner in which he treats the last-mentioned writer, has drawn down

upon him unmeasured abuse from Socinians, and others who were only half-hearted in their adherence to the peculiar doctrines of Scripture: but his work is a storehouse of sound Lutheran divinity. It contains the whole of Grotius's Annotations, with able exegetical and polemical commentaries.

Estii Comment. in Epp. Apostol.

This author is of opinion, that the *quod* of the Vulgate was designed to be understood, not as the neuter relative, but as a determinative conjunction, and that *Dæus* is to be supplied from the preceding context.

Pearson on the Creed, Art. II. Note 9,

Contains some excellent remarks on the Annotations of Grotius, and the alleged corruption by Macedonius.

Poli Synopsis in loc.

Millii Novum Testamentum Græcum.

An important and interesting note: relating chiefly to the various readings, the story of Liberatus, and the Alexandrian Codex.

Bengelii Novum Testamentum Græcum.

At the close of a lengthened critical note on the passage, Bengel asks: "Quid nisi Θεός superest?"

Stillingfleet's Vindication of the Doctrine of the Trinity.

London 1697. 8vo. pp. 156—164.

Wotton's Clemens Romanus, p. 27.

Wetstenii Novum Testamentum Græcum,

Contains a very long and elaborate note, which deserves to be consulted by all who wish to ascertain the bearing of the ancient ecclesiastical testimonies on the subject. This bearing, most of the quotations adduced by Wetstein, show to be decidedly in favour of Θεός; and the rest only require to be studied in their connexion, in order to its being perceived, that, if they do not confirm, they in no wise oppose this reading.

Arnoldi Religio Sociniana, containing a Refutation of the Racovian Catechism. Amstel, 1654. 4to. pp. 284—286.

Wolfii Curæ Philologicæ et Criticæ. Tom. IV. pp. 451—456.

Ridgley's Body of Divinity, Vol. IV. p. 263. London 1819. 8vo.

Heuman's Erklærung des. N. Testaments.

——— Poecile, T. III. p. 448.

Edwards's Exercitations, p. 348. London, 1702.

Baumgarten's Vindiciæ vocis Θεός, 1 Tim. iii. 16.

Woog's Programma.

Pfaffius in Primitiis Tubingensibus.

Bentley's Remarks on Free Thinking, Part I. xxxiii.

Berriman's Critical Dissertation upon 1 Tim. iii. 16.
London 1741. 8vo.

This valuable work consists of an introduction on the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures; on the various readings, and the importance of the passage in question.—Chap. I. Rules to distinguish in various Readings which is Genuine.—Chap. II. The Greek MSS. of St. Paul's Epistles described, and their Readings of 1 Tim. iii. 16 considered.—Chap. III. The Writings of the Greek and Latin Fathers examined.—Chap. IV. An Account of the Ancient Versions, and their readings of this text.—Chap. V. The several Readings compared with each other, and with the Context; and the Conclusion of the whole.

Whitby on the passage.

J. D. Michaelis in his Introd. to the N. T. 2d Edit.

Vol. II. p. 71. Anmerkungen fur Ungelehrte IV.

Theil. pp. 106, 107. Orient. und Exeget. Bibliothek.

VI. Thiel. pp. 81—87. VII. pp. 137—141.

Velthusen's Remarks on the true Reading of the passage
1 Tim. iii. 16. London 1773. 8vo.

This work, which is now very scarce, contains three parts.—I. Observations on the Seven-times seventy Weeks of Daniel.—II. On the Canon of the Old Testament.—III. Remarks, &c. as above. In these remarks the following critical rules are laid down and illustrated with special reference to the passage in dispute.—1. Of two or three different readings, that reading is historically true, or critically certain, in which most of the chief characters of a true reading coincide.—2. That reading, in general, is the true one, which agrees with most of the manuscripts in the Original Language.—3. That reading, the later origin of which cannot be accounted for without supposing a wilful corruption, is

(generally speaking) the true one; and that which we cannot account for from accidental causes, is (generally speaking) the false one.—4. Of two readings, (unless there be some material reason against the rule) that reading is preferable which seems to convey a harsher sense. This maxim is almost infallible.—5. The most probable of two or three readings is that by which a writer, who is known to have had clear and precise ideas, shall express himself in the clearest and precisest manner.—6. The same obtains with regard to that reading, according to the tenor or the whole system of the book, it was most natural and reasonable to expect, should occur in that particular place.—The tract contains an interesting account of the Askew MS. written in the year 834, which exhibits the reading Θεός.

Benson on the passage.

Woide's Preface to his edition of the Codex Alexandrinus, § 87. and in Cramer Beytrag, T. III. p. 147.

G. F. Weber's *Vindiciæ vocis Θεός* 1 Tim. iii. 16. Argent. 1777.

Cramer, *Nebenarbeiten*. I Stuck. 1782.

Griesbach's Greek N. T.

——— *Symbolæ Criticæ*, Vol. I. viii—liv. Vol. II. pp. 56—59. 64—76.

In his note on the passage, this celebrated critic gives a summary of the authorities which had induced him to prefer *ὁς* to either of the two other readings; but he is, as usual, defective in exhibiting those which go to support the received reading. The passages in his *Symbolæ* are chiefly occupied with the subject of the Uncial MSS.; an abortive attempt to prove that the Fathers have been corrupted; and a defence of his positions against Weber and others by whom they had been disputed.

M. Weber's *Crisis loci Paullini* 1 Tim. iii. 16. Lips. 1784.

This author conjectures that *ὁς* was the original reading, and considers Θεός to be understood.

Paulus Memorabilien, I. Stuck. pp. 97—194.

This dissertation is designed to show, that the object of the Apostle was to correct false notions which had become prevalent in his day, relative to the human body, in consequence of which the primitive Christians were tempted absolutely to abandon all care of it, or concern about

its interests. It contains remarks on the variety of reading, and the meaning of the several propositions in the text.

Hill's Lectures in Divinity, Vol. II. pp. 189—193. 2d Ed.

Laurence's Remarks upon the Systematic Classification of Manuscripts adopted by Griesbach in his Edition of the New Testament. Oxford, 1814. pp. 72—84.

The learned author (now Archbishop of Cashel) reviews with great ability the arguments of Griesbach, which he shows to be defective, wire-drawn, and inadmissible; even on the supposition, that his classification of MSS. were just. His conclusion is: "Should we not rather say, that because the Byzantine text, with an infinity of manuscripts and Fathers, reads $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}s$, and because eight (viz. 6, 10, 23, 31, 37, 39, 46, 47) out of eleven Alexandrian MSS. coincide with it, while only one certainly opposes it, the other two being doubtful, therefore the preponderance of classes is against the Western; and that $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}s$, not δ or δs , seems to be the genuine reading?"

Eclectic Review, N. S. Vol. IV. pp. 178—187,

Contains a masterly review of the above work, by a writer who discovers himself to be thoroughly versed in the principles of Biblical criticism. In his judgment, the external evidence does actually preponderate in favour of $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}s$.—In Vol. V. of the Old Series of the same work, the Reviewer, following Griesbach too implicitly, declares himself in favour of δs , but rejects as false Greek, the construction put upon it in the "Improved Version."

Wardlaw's Discourses on the Principal Points of the Socinian Controversy. Third Edition. London, 1819. pp. 414—419.

Though the passage is not introduced into these discourses, which exhibit a series of the most luminous and conclusive arguments on the great subjects in dispute, because the excellent author was desirous of having it to say, that he had built no part of his argument on any passage which eminent critics had pronounced of doubtful authority, yet in Note D, he very clearly gives his readers to understand, that, in his opinion, $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}s$ is the true lection.

Nolan's Inquiry into the Integrity of the Greek Vulgate, &c. London, 1815.

In various parts of this very elaborate and learned work, the passage is brought forward for the purpose of exemplifying, in its various readings,

the untenableness of Griesbach's hypothesis, and the application of those new principles of classification, which the author had adopted with respect to the Greek MSS.

Hales' Faith in the Holy Trinity, the Doctrine of the Gospel, and Sabellian Unitarianism shewn to be "The God-denying Apostacy," Vol. II. pp. 67—104. 2d Edit. London, 1818.

In his IXth Letter, the author enters very fully into an examination both of the external and internal evidence, and shows, in opposition to Griesbach and Carpenter, that *Θεός* is the genuine reading.

Tracts on the Divinity of Christ. By the Bishop of St. David's. London, 1820.

Pp. 197—222 contain a postscript on the Anti-Socinianism of Newton and Locke, in which the reader will find some interesting matter relative to the principles and connexions of these two distinguished men, and also some remarks on 1 Tim. iii. 16.

Holden's Scripture Testimonies to the Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, collected and illustrated. London, 1820. pp. 181—188.

Among other decided statements made in this valuable work is the following: "The reading *δς*, if it be the true one, will not essentially benefit the Unitarian cause; but the received text has been ably defended by several eminent writers; and after an attentive examination of the evidence on both sides, I am convinced that *Θεός* is the true reading."

Burton's Testimonies of the Ante-Nicene Fathers to the Divinity of Christ. Oxford, 1826. pp. 141—145.

J. P. Smith's Scripture Testimony to the Messiah, Vol. II. Part II. pp. 701—703. or 2d Edit. Vol. III. pp. 352—357.

The Author cannot conclude this list without once more particularly recommending the two editions of Matthæi's Greek N. T.; in both of which the Biblical scholar will find much to enable him to make up his mind on the subject.

FINIS.

